

LECTURES ON JAPAN

MAHARANA BHUPAL
COLLEGE,
UDAIPUR.

Class No.....

Book No.....

LECTURES ON JAPAN

AN OUTLINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE
AND
THEIR CULTURE

BY
INAZO NITOBE



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FOREWORD

I cannot let this volume of Lectures in America (1932-1933) by Inazo Nitobé go to print without a warm acknowledgment and appreciation of the efforts and unfailing kindness of friends who have helped to make its publication possible—friends who are in many cases carrying undue burdens of their own.

Those were, indeed, dark days for Japan and for us personally, when my husband and I set forth in 1932 on his Mission of interpretation for his Country. America was hostile in thought—even friends there often did not understand. Many thought that he had come as propagandist and protagonist for what he could not endorse—a part that Nitobé never did and never would play.

All the more have the kindness and unfailing loyalty of an ever-increasing number called forth gratitude.

MARY P. E. NITOBE

Karuizawa

June, 1936.

PREFATORY NOTE

In the autumn of 1932, less than a year before his death in Victoria on his ninth and last visit to North America, Dr. Nitobé delivered a series of lectures on the development of the Japanese people, social, political and cultural. These lectures, some twenty in number, though they were apparently more or less hurriedly prepared, constitute an unusually well-rounded picture of the Japanese people, their historical evolution, their life and ideas, and their mentality and characteristics. They represent, in a sense, a summary of the pen-pictures of Japan and her people, which Dr. Nitobé devoted his life in drawing for the peoples of the world, beginning with the *Bushido* written at the turn of the century, and even earlier, with the *Intercourse between the United States and Japan*, published by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1891.

The manuscripts of the lectures were never revised by Dr. Nitobé with the thoroughness he always exercised in preparation for publication. This was quite natural in view of the fact that he was obliged to come back to Japan shortly after these lectures were given, and then to leave Japan again almost immediately—never to return—to attend the Banff Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations as the chairman of the Japanese group.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Nitobé the manuscripts were put into the hands of the Japanese I. P. R. members, with the permission to publish them, since the late Doctor made his tour in America in 1932-'33 largely in the capacity of Chairman of the Japanese Council of the Institute.

The manuscripts are published, almost wholly in their original form, save for a few omissions and corrections of obvious mistakes and for a certain effort to revise, especially

Chapter XIII. The lectures are printed here in the order they were given. The manuscript for the lecture on Art Life in Japan, which, I understand, was delivered as the 14th of the series, is missing; and I was therefore forced to abandon the hope of including it. As regards Chapter XVI, on Japan and the Peace Machinery, the manuscript was incomplete, and it was decided to substitute for it the definite text of Dr. Nitobé's two radio addresses, which had been given on the same subjects, "Japan and the League of Nations" and "Japan and the Peace Pact." In Chapter V on "Religious Ideas" there are portions taken from Dr. Nitobé's *Japanese Nation*, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Likewise in Chapter XVIII on "Education in Japan", he has made use of portions of a chapter dealing with the similar subject in his own *Japan*, published by Ernest Benn, Limited. For assent of the reprint I am indebted to the courtesy of these publishers.

Among the appendices, some of Dr. Nitobé's addresses illustrative of the untiring effort of the pioneer worker for international mindedness among different races and nations, have been selected and published. "Development of International Cooperation" is the convocation address at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in 1932 (Appendix B). "A Japanese Tribute to Abraham Lincoln" was an address delivered at the Institute of International Relations in 1933, and, as an example of a Japanese appreciation of and tribute to this representative American, is reproduced here (Appendix C), with the permission of the editors of *World Affairs* in which it was first published. "A Japanese View of Quakerism" was an address given at the University of Geneva in 1926, and is included here (Appendix D) as another significant contribution by a Japanese, with the consent of the Friends Service Council.

As I look back from the vantage point of years, Dr. Nitobé's life and career appears to me a logical whole, as one of his

best friends characterized it, and a series of unbroken endeavor toward the definite goal of human understanding and enrichment of mutual appreciation of the East and the West. It was in this same spirit of friendship and of deep concern with the cause to which his life was consecrated, that he decided to go to America in 1932, and he was, even in those disturbing days, so thoroughly devoted to the scholarly and scientific attitude that he did not for a moment deviate from basing his argument on what he regarded as the salient facts, or from recognizing the existing actualities, however unfortunate.

It is not out of order to remark in passing that here, too, are the principles on which the Institute of Pacific Relations takes its stand. Dr. Nitobé expressed his sincere devotion to these principles in the opening address of the Kyoto Conference (Appendix E), of which he was the President as the newly elected Chairman of the Japanese Council. He apparently intended again to emphasize the same theme in his address at Banff, as is evident from passages like the following:

“... we participate in its deliberations in a scientific spirit—in the sense of being objective and not sensational, calm and not excited, bent on finding facts and not starting with or led by a bias... I shall even dare to say that it is the duty of science to regain balance when it is disturbed, for, when equipoise is lost in the relations of peoples there are usually causes more fundamental than political or diplomatic. In treating a national or an international issue we must seek for its economic, cultural and emotional sources.”

The address which was actually given at the inaugural dinner was somewhat different from his original draft, but I am taking the liberty of including this hitherto unpublished manuscript in this volume as the first of the appendices (Appendix A).

It was primarily due to Mrs. Nitobé’s kind permission and

active interest that the publication of these lectures was made possible. They may not be exactly in the shape which Dr. Nitobé would have wished them to appear (he modestly thought them, I am told, not sufficiently "academic" for the University Press); but, for any mistakes or misstatements, which would surely have been subjected to revision if he were alive, I am solely responsible. I am grateful to Dr. M. E. Deutsch of the University of California for his moral support in carrying out this publication, and also to Mr. Arthur Jorgensen for his generous cooperation in going over the whole manuscript. The Misses Anna and Elizabeth Chace were kind enough to furnish me with copies of "A Japanese View of Quakerism." Acknowledgment is due to Mr. I. Suzukawa, now in the graduate department of the Imperial University of Tokyo, for his share of the burden of proof-reading and preparation of the index.

Y. TAKAGI.

Tokyo, July, 1936.

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CHAPTER I

THE JAPANESE RACE

In these public lectures it will be my purpose, if the University permits, to acquaint the Californian audience with the more salient features of Japanese life. I do not pretend to be strictly scientific in my treatment of these. I shall relate facts and theories, often without any comment, so that you may draw your own conclusions. I hope that by adopting this popular style, I shall not desecrate the sanctity or lower the dignity of the University.

I shall begin my course this evening with a lecture on the Japanese race. I shall not speak like an anthropologist, for I am not one. I shall not endeavor to solve any anthropological or ethnological question relating to the Japanese. I shall only treat of our race in a broad sense, touching upon many ramifications of the subject.

(1) I shall open the discourse by taking a bird's-eye view of the manifold theories relating to the origin of our race. (2) I shall then dwell upon the outstanding somatological characteristics of the race. (3) Then we shall take a glimpse into its more prominent mental traits..

I

As far as physiognomy is concerned, the mass of our

people must be of Malay or Mongolian origin. We must remember there is practically little difference between the Malays and the Mongolians. In fact, some anthropologists regard them only as varieties of the same race, the Malays being called Sea-Mongolians and the Mongolians Land-Malays.

It is not necessary to deduce direct descent from a race whose outward physical characteristics are similar to ours. There are other ways of inheriting traits—atavistic and collateral. We may have many forebears. An ultra-patriotic Japanese may resent such a suggestion. He may reverse the process and demonstrate that the Chinese, Mongolians, Manchurians, Koreans and Malays—and possibly the whole human race—have descended from the Japanese, who were the first-born of the Goddess of the Sun. I confess my patriotism is not stretched to that extent, nor is it necessary to claim priority of birth or singleness of parentage in order to have racial self-respect.

One great difficulty in tracing our family tree is the isolated character of our language. It is an agglutinative language and so we are placed in that vast conglomeration of races called Turanian; but that does not solve any problem. It is like admitting the inability to classify us. I remember a certain German anthropologist of note divided the human species into two great categories—the Day-folk and the Night-folk—but finding some races like the Japanese, who could not be accommodated

in either category, added the third, which he called the Twilight-folk (*Dämmerungsmenschen*).

We are told by physical anthropologists that language is no criterion of race, whereas linguists insist upon their infallibility in asserting that it is. Judged by the latter, our blood has been traced all over the world.

Let me cursorily go over the list of races with whom we are supposed to be allied,—the hypothesis being based on linguistic, anatomical or historical relationship.

- (1) There are some linguists, very few perhaps; who find a close resemblance between us and the Sumerians;
- (2) Others who say our language was like the Akkadian;
- (3) Still others who see similarity with the Babylonians;
- (4) Then there are some who have discovered common elements with the Ancient Egyptians;
- (5) I have a Japanese friend who has devoted himself to the study of Persian in order to prove it to be the origin of the Japanese tongue;
- (6) The Hittite has been named as the ancestor of our race;
- (7) A Japanese classical scholar has discovered many points of similarity between the mythology and language of ancient Greece and of Japan;
- (8) More than one student of biblical history has found in the Japanese one of the lost tribes of Israel;
- (9) From the existence of the dolmens in Japan, a suggestion has been made that some West European race, or a race that moved westward, may have been a progenitor of the Japanese;
- (10) The Basques have long been suspected of having furnished ancestral blood to the Japanese, or,

at least, of having descended from a common stock ; (11) Among the various races geographically near to us, a Chinese legend narrates that a group of Chinese boys and girls were transported to Japan in the third century B.C. and gave rise to the nation ; (12) That the Ainu, who are Caucasie, once occupied the whole of Japan is pretty well substantiated by the local names they have left behind them. Hence—that their blood must have been chiefly infused in the Japanese is a theory advanced by some ; (13) But the Ainu have a myth about a fair-skinned pigmy race (whom some identify with Lapps or Eskimos) called Koropu Unguri—Unguri meaning man, like Ungern, Hungary—and Koropu being the name of a plant, *nadosmia*, which has a very large round leaf, sometimes over three feet in diameter, under which these people were supposed to live ; (14) A theory most accepted by scientific anthropologists is that our race originated somewhere at the foot of the Altai mountains and proceeded eastward until they came to the Japan Sea. Having crossed it, they proceeded south-westward and occupied Japan. Some branches of the same race (allied with the Girgiz and Tungus) proceeded north-westward along the Aleutian islands and spread in America, giving rise to the Mayan and Aztec civilizations ; (15) Without contradicting the Altaian theory, other anthropologists are inclined to emphasize the Malay element in our race constituency ; for it is pretty well substantiated that the Malays were in the habit of migrating in small boats—in

every direction.

From this bewildering display of ancestral candidates, I wish we might pick out the best and claim it as the genuine. There can be nothing more delectable than to select one's own parents. And our own mythology has done this well.

Long before anthropologists and archæologists began to cast doubt upon our family tree, mythology settled the question by making a heaven-descended pair, the Attractor and the Attractress, the progenitor and the progenitress of all things Japanese. Standing on the bridge of heaven, they stirred the slimy sea and brought out of it the first island and later they "begot" (mark the term) other islands. They also gave birth to children to people these newly created lands. They had seven children, of whom the fourth was a daughter, the far-famed Sun Goddess of Japanese mythology, who reigned over a country bearing an anagogical name—"The High Plain of Heaven." From this place, she dispatched her grandson to the country described as "the fertile plain where rice grows in abundance"—later called the Land of the Rising Sun.

Apparently he did not succeed in subjugating the native tribes at once; and it took three generations to pacify the land. A stable government was then established under the first Emperor Jimmu. As to the exact year in which this took place, opinions vary. Scientific historians believe the date to have been 60. B.C., but a traditional chronology carries it as far back as 660 B.C., and the latter

is accepted as official and hence, to some minds, absolutely authentic.

Historians are divided as to the location of the "High Plain of Heaven". It has been located as far away as the Caucasus. Two or three places in Japan have been named. Theories regarding this place are closely associated with those that have some linguistic affinities. Some of them, in fact many of them, look not only strange but absurd to a layman. But to the zealous upholder of a theory nothing is absurd, and everything is clear and important and final; divergence from it is heresy, and we have many fundamentalists to match equally many heretics. Despite the fundamentalists, scientists are agreed on one point, and that is that our progenitors did not originate in Japan, but came here from many places.

May I relate a conversation I had with the great French craniologist, Monsieur Hamy, for some time director of the famous museum of Trocadero. Speaking of the Japanese race, he said that he considered them the most mixed people under the sun. I asked if the Americans were not more so. He replied—"Yes, they will be in course of time. They are not yet as homogeneous as you." He then gave proofs of the mixture of our race—how the Mongolian, Malay, Indonesian, Caucasian and even the Negro, have at one time or another drifted to the Japanese islands and contributed in building up the present race. He added that it is such a mixture that improves a race.

In the October, 1932, number of *Harper's Magazine* is an account of Hawaii by Lillian Symes. In these mid-Pacific isles is being tried a remarkable experiment of the "melting pot." In the population of approximately 360,000 which Hawaii possesses (according to the census of 1930) there are :

Hawaiian	22,636
Caucasian-Hawaiian	15,632
Asiatic-Hawaiian	12,592
Chinese	27,179
Japanese	139,631
Filipino	63,152
Portuguese	27,588
Other Caucasian	44,859

Regarding the effect of miscegenation, the writer quotes the high authority of Dr. Frank E. Midkiff.

"Concerning the statement that the weak qualities of both races are inherited and the strong characteristics lost, I would say that this is purely a social matter. . . Ethnologists and anthropologists of the Bishop Museum find clear evidences of racial improvement due to crossing. . . Moral qualities are not inherited. They are the result of culture, especially of the early impressions of children in the home environment."

"A new race," he continues, "is growing up here in the Pacific, which may be known as a new Pacific race; it will have the characteristics of many races. . . The physical characteristics of this new race are excellent and the mental and social characteristics are excellent also when the early home environment is fortunate and proper."

What is going on in Hawaii, had gone on for many centuries in the Japanese archipelago before the formation of the Japanese race was completed.

While it is well to entertain pride of race, as it is to have self-respect, when it reaches the point of the sense of superiority, we have to beware of ourselves, lest destruction follow pride and a fall come close upon a haughty spirit. Many races—the Hebrews, the Romans, the Chinese, the Japanese—have had to pay a high price for their race pride at one time or another in their history. Racial isolation and purity spell a stationary condition. Professor Flinders Petrie, in his *Revolutions of Civilizations*, has made the significant suggestion that a system of civilization begins to rise with the miscegenation of races and begins to decline when racial purity (homogeneity) is attained.

Nevertheless, there is a strong temptation for individuals to assert their superiority by reciting the achievement of their forebears. You remember the story of Lincoln, to whom a German colonel recommended himself for service in the Civil War. This man gave a glowing account of his family, and spoke of one of his ancestors as having fought in the Thirty Years' War, of another as a hero in the Seven Years' War. Lincoln, rather impatient with his boasting, told him that the valor and the deeds of the Colonel's illustrious ancestors would not be in the way of his recommendation. The Colonel, not grasping Lincoln's irony, repeated the narrative, when he was stopped

by the President's saying in effect that if the record of his forefathers were his only recommendation, his service was not needed !

One's past may work in a man in two ways. It may haunt him like a ghost, shackling his limbs, filling his heart with fear, or swelling it with pride ; or it may guide him, like a ministering angel, with the momentum of centuries. While History is a judge sitting to pass sentence on a nation, it is also an attorney defending the deeds done in the body politique or social. Not infrequently can the present generation undo the work, good or bad, of the past. The living can shed lustre on the dead, or disgrace those who sleep in ancestral tombs.

Pardon me for making these commonplace remarks. I feel a slight impatience with a school of political anthropologists, who deduce conclusions of far-reaching consequence from doubtful premises. National animosities have been instigated, which can be traced to the difference in the cross section of hair or of its color. Some statesmen stake everything on world conquest by the fair-haired. Others with equal pugnacity assert their preference for the dark-haired. Both employ "scientific" sanction for their contention of racial superiority. They will both find that in their origin they were very much alike, and their supposed reason for superiority may turn out to effect a contrary result. I am reminded of a small New Yorker who was asked by his teacher where he was born. Being ashamed to be so unmanly as to be born in

a Women's Hospital, he replied "In the Yankee Stadium."

Generally speaking, wherever their birth-places may have been, all races (with very few exceptions), began small and grew great with nurture and culture, which include better means of subsistence and more leisure for thought. In our case, it is most probable that the stature of the ancient Japanese was small. A contrary opinion is also held, based on old stone coffins and old armor, that they must have been larger than their present descendants. I leave the question to further inquiry. If it is true that meat diet is conducive to larger physique, the old Japanese could not have been very big. For, even before the introduction of Buddhism, which discouraged eating flesh, domestic animals were not kept to any extent. Our people seem not to have passed through a pastoral stage. They began with agriculture, or rather with hoe-culture (*Hackbau*) and were largely vegetarian, supplying the deficiency in nitrogen by a diet of fish.

II

In proportion to their stature, the head of the Japanese is large. It may be this characteristic which imparts to them a childish appearance. The disproportionately large head is not artistic. The figures in Utamaro's prints owe their peculiar charm to the small proportion of the head to the rest of the body,—this proportion being only one-tenth, whereas the natural proportion is about one-

eighth. How far the cerebral dimensions may be attributed to the use of a fish diet, which is said to supply phosphorus to the brain, I do not know.

Another racial character is the comparatively long torso, or—what amounts to the same thing—the shortness of the limbs. The explanation sometimes given is that this trait points to a Mongolian origin. The Mongols being great riders of the horse, did not develop their legs. It is said that by constant riding they made themselves bow-legged ; but the bowed legs, of which we see many among us, are likely to be caused by the custom of sitting with one's lower limbs bent under the body. This posture is observed in many old paintings and sculptures of the Orient, but nowhere else did it become a general custom, and in Japan itself it began to be generally adopted only about the 14th century. The effect of abandoning it in schools, where children now all sit on benches, is clearly shown in their increasing stature. Particularly remarkable is the constant addition to the average height of girls in the last quarter of a century. Our people do not object to long legs, that is to tallness ; but as to long arms, they have a proverbial dislike for these, since they have been associated in a popular saying with a propensity to break the eighth commandment.

Another racial feature is the smallness and deftness of hands and feet. Please note that never in our country was it a custom or the law to bind the feet of men or women. The extremities are not only small but well-formed. Our

women may not like my saying that their hands are the most beautiful part of their person. Even among laboring men, the hands are more supple than is the case with the similar laboring classes of other nationalities. When to the suppleness of his hands is added that of his loins, a Japanese makes an ideal laborer in harvesting perishable fruits—pears, peaches, tomatoes, strawberries. In the labor market of California, it has been the dexterous and quick movement of his hands that has brought upon the Japanese the hostility of the labor unions.

As to skin, the color is brown rather than yellow. Fair skin is not infrequent, particularly among young girls. The hair is always black, and must be straight, though at present the Western vogue of waving it is popular. As a race the Japanese are not hirsute, and if occasionally some are seen to be very hairy, they are suspected of a tinge of Ainu blood.

The typical color of the eyes is black—or so dark a brown that they seem black—but they are more often distinctly brown; occasionally one finds a shading of gray. Usually they are small, and often this is due to the full eye-lids and veiled corners. Sometimes they are so straight and narrow that they look like mere slits. The almond shape is considered particularly beautiful, but a droop at the outer angles, though it is considered a sign of good nature, is not admired in a man since it gives an impression of weakness of character. The upward slant is therefore given to the eyes of heroes and warriors or to

women of strong mind. The slant given to Japanese portraits painted by foreign artists, however, often strikes us as exaggerated and ugly.

Among all peoples, the nose, placed as it is in the centre of the face, seems to determine the value of the whole countenance, though anatomists say it is a useless protuberance. In Japan, Greek, Roman and Jewish types are frequently met with ; but among the lower classes, flat and broad noses are common, and when they are accompanied by prominent cheek-bones and protruding lips, they easily suggest their prototype in warmer climes. The ears are sometimes neglected in taking stock of physiognomy. We are not different from others in displaying ears of various shapes and size ; but among our women they are often hidden by their friseurs—particularly when they are sharply pointed at the tips or when the lobes are very small. Large ears are not envied, but from olden times they have been associated with wealth. All the gods of luck have hanging lobes, and, strangely enough, it so happens that when men, usually advanced in years, have attained success in life, their physiognomy is characterized by large auricular appendages. Anatomists find no useful purposes in lobes,—economists may ! Small ears, lying tightly against the head like those of the orang-outang are despised, preference being given to the chimpanzee type of large and outstanding ears, though in a restrained degree.

I have thus far omitted the most prominent part of the

body—the head, which is also the easiest part to lose. The Japanese head is broad, though dolichocephaly is by no means rare. I have said above that the Japanese head is too large for the body, and it has compared well with European brains in size, weight and convolutions.

In three respects—brachycephaly and in the disproportion of trunk and of limbs,—Havelock Ellis notes an approach to the infantile condition of the human species. Are we a juvenile race, then, rich in springs and autumns before us? Or are we only an undeveloped race, stunted and incapable of somatic maturity? I doubt whether the conclusions of Havelock Ellis are final. Certainly he will not convince us that the negroes and Australian savages are the highest types of the human species, because they are most advanced in dolichocephaly and in the ample proportion of trunk and limbs.

In speaking of the physical traits of a race, a few points considered essential in feminine beauty will give an adequate idea of the aesthetic criterion of that race. Let me quote from a book of my own—now out of print.

"As regards our standard of beauty, naturally it is not in every respect uniform with the Greek or the Egyptian, or with the canons of the Renaissance; but only in a very few points are the different canons at direct variance; that is to say, what we deem beautiful will never be positively ugly to you and *vice versa*.

A woman, to be considered beautiful by us, need not be tall. Height may be divinely imposing, but not essential to human beauty. With us, about five feet would be consi-

dered the most desirable height, but if one must err, it is advisable to err by exceeding rather than by falling short of the mark. The figure should be slender without being bony, the waist long and the hips narrow. To secure grace, the body should be held slightly forward, not boldly erect. A very important feature is the neck, which should be long, white, slender, and gracefully curved. The hair should, of course, be abundant, long, and perfectly straight, and while no deviation from black is tolerated, it should not be just black, but should be so glossy that it seems blue-black. The face should be oval and long, with a straight nose, which should also be high and narrow. As for the eyes, opinions are divided, one school of connoisseurs demanding that they should be large with a double line of the lid, while another school prefers that the eyes should be long and narrow and slightly slanting upwards at the outer corner. The colour of the eye should always be clear and deep brown; the lashes thick, long, and curved; the eyebrows black and distinct, their line long and well arched; the mouth small; lips thin, curved, and red; teeth small, regular, and white. The ears must be evenly curved, with no angle, and in size not too small, for pinched lobes look poverty-stricken. . . . The forehead most admired is high and narrow at the top and obliquely slanting at the sides, suggesting the outline of our sacred mountain, Fuji. As for the complexion, it should be fair, with a tint of the rose on the cheek, only, in our parlance, we would call it cherry-hued."¹

III

For centuries before psychology or anthropology had been systematically cultivated and careful observations had been recorded, vague generalizations were made of

¹ *The Japanese Nation*, pp. 96-7.

The charm and force of national ideas lie in their continuity. If sometimes they are broken, they have not really ceased to exist; they have only remained underground, flowing all the time like some subterranean river which disappears in underbrush or a sandy desert and gushes forth with renewed strength in a most unexpected quarter.

In this sense, then, there are sentiments and ideas in our people which stubbornly insist on recognition and obedience. Most of them form an integral part of our existence, but are incapable of analysis or of expression. Only when they give rise to a religious faith or political creed can they in a measure be explained. Usually they lurk in the substructure of consciousness and are open only to him who is of sympathetic mind. Those who have frequented our theatres must have witnessed in many plays two or three characters of most intimate relation engaged in some heart-to-heart talk. In such scenes there come moments when silence speaks louder than words, or when one of the characters will quietly utter a phrase like this—“As to the rest be so good as to imagine (*sassuru*, to guess, surmise), I would not harass your ears with sad narration.”

To leave a tale untold for the imagination of a hearer, is to trust in his power of perception or comprehension. And it is exactly this perceptive faculty which is highly developed among the Japanese. Whether it be in situations created by nature or of human making, when they are presented to our senses they are acutely perceived. Our senses are responsive to outward impressions in a way

foreigners hardly understand. The stoically trained Japanese will pretend not to be so readily sensitive to outside influences. In the theatrical scene to which I have alluded, the speaker calmly appeals to the ability of his friends to perceive what lies beyond or beneath the circumstance which they are discussing. In such cases silence is really golden, for the silver tongue is incapable of conveying depth of emotion.

In alluding to emotion, I am reminded of another peculiarity of our national psychology. There is a word which I have found it impossible to render into English. Consisting of three syllables, *a*, *wa*, and *ré*, “*awaré*” is usually translated sorrow, sadness, compassion, sympathy. The term is often used in the sense expressed by these terms. But it really is broader in its connotation. Sometimes it is as comprehensive as the English “*awareness*”; for when we reflect upon life, and gain consciousness of its struggle, its issues, its emptiness, we feel sad or sorrowful. But suppose in reflecting upon life, we should feel its high purpose, its greatness, its triumphs and pleasures—do we not feel elation and joy? But are elation and joy unmixed? Every one does enjoy triumphs and pleasure, and when he does, his sensation is not sad—is it? If the pleasure-seeker attains his objective or the ambitious succeeds—even then will he not still feel the *awaré* of loneliness? Others are denied his privileges and even these privileges are but for a moment. How can one avoid a sense of sadness stealing in even at the height of delight or

victory? Thus *awaré* is not only German *Wehmut* but *Mut* itself, or possibly the ensemble of all mental moods, *das Gemut*, for which the English vocabulary gives no equivalent.

We speak of great men—great men in any country—as those who know “the *awaré* of things,” the sad or saddening nature of things, who treat things with tenderness, pity and love. That is why Lincoln had a melancholy cast of mind. Such men know that things are not what they seem. They make distinction between phenomena and noumena, between outward manifestation and inward content, between the temporary and the permanent. When men attain this height of knowledge, they are not only sad or gloomy, as sadness and gloom ordinarily go. They are joyous and *gemütlich*. That is why Lincoln was fond of cracking jokes. I have often wondered if *mono-no-awaré*, “the sadness of things,” does not mean “cosmic consciousness”,—awareness of existence, sharing in the spirit of the universe. You have sympathy—*syn* and *pathos*, fellow-feeling, *Mitleid*—for all things around you,—men, beasts, flowers and inanimate objects. Like St. Francis of Assisi, you call birds and stones your sisters and brothers. As explained, *awaré* is certainly a sentiment not peculiar to the Japanese. It is common to all humanity. I have named it among the race characteristics simply because it predominates among us more decidedly than among others and it permeates our literature, even our folk-songs. But then! I may be mis-

taken. Other races may possess and cultivate it in a way that we do not know, as we possess and cultivate it in a way that they do not know. It has always struck me as one of the primary psychological facts, that all sentient beings are endowed with it, and that therefore, when the Japanese brood over it and give expression to it, it is like making a garden on an outcropping of the oldest volcanic rock that has pierced through strata of newer formation.

I wish I had more time to dilate on *avaré*, but another mental trait very common among our people demands mention. It is mentally so closely associated with sadness that the two look like twin sisters. *Nasaké*, usually translated pity, or compassion, is the consciousness of something wanting. Etymologically it means the *feeling of the absence of things* which we crave—hence it is as frequently identified with love as with pity. It is the subduing feeling of deficiency, of inadequacy, hence a yearning for something. You can well imagine that it is an attribute of the Muses; but it was also considered an essential virtue of warriors, and the motive of statesmen. Statesmen should govern with pity for the suffering people. A warrior should fight with compassion for his adversary. Killing is not his object. If his enemy surrenders to his cause (which, of course, is the right cause!)—well and good. If he opposes it he is on the way to perdition. To kill such is to save him from wrong. *Nasaké* plays a prominent part in our literature and together with pity (*avaré*) has been the chief source of poetical inspiration.

I dare say that our classical poets would admit few other motives for their art than these two. And even when they indulge in humor, as they occasionally do, one notices one or both of these basic sentiments. Indeed, humor itself is rarely free from sadness. Somebody has defined humor as feeling sadly and thinking mirthfully.

It is often asked if the Japanese people have a sense of humor. They usually look merry enough, but what about that delicate mental poise which constitutes humor? In answer I would say—Yes, and plenty of it! Only, humor is a sensitive plant difficult to transplant. In its grosser forms as jest or jokes, it can thrive in a desert. If a joke is a way-side weed, with a little flower to please you for a moment, humor is an orchid that prefers its own surroundings and is not easily to be moved. Hence it is almost impossible to translate humorous literature. Our language admits of a wide range of paronomasia and hence cheap punning is vexatiously indulged in. As a large part of wit and humor consists in the exposition of incongruities and as incongruities are the more quickly detected by the keener perception, the sense of humor is highly developed among the Japanese.

I have brought to your notice only a few of the mental traits which it is essential foreigners should understand in rightly estimating the general temper of the Japanese race. As to their intelligence, a number of mental tests have been made by California scientists, so that I need only to call your attention to their reports as well as to the num-

rous observations by educators engaged in teaching the Japanese. They all seem to show that if the average Japanese intelligence here is not as high as English or Scandinavian, it is above many an European average, much higher than the South European.

I have presented to you a sketchy portrait of the Japanese race. I have tried to paint them as they are, warts and all, in their pristine traits, with their elemental lines. I have treated the continuity of native culture, but culture rarely continues unmodified. Alien cultures penetrate and diffuse. I dare say that even in historical times their physique has undergone some changes with varying customs and diets. There remains the fact that in their mental development, vast progress was made, for which they owe most to the continental culture of Asia—to Korea, China and India—most of all to China. I shall consider in the next lecture “What Japan owes to China, in her cultural progress.”

X. 5. 1932.

CHAPTER II

WHAT JAPAN OWES TO CHINA

In my last lecture I gave a brief account of the Japanese race—of the more permanent and predominant traits of their bodily and mental make-up. But my description was inadequate as a picture of the Japanese people. In his widely read book, *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, Professor Dorsey has given a very pithy definition of the “race as the body we are born with ; language and culture as the duds we learn to wear.” As it is not usual anywhere to go about perfectly naked, and as the duds we wear are indicative of our taste and ability to pay a tailor’s bill, an examination of our culture and nurture must be made together with a study of racial physique, in order rightly to estimate the character of the existing nation.

It seems that whatever races it was that occupied the Japanese archipelago in prehistoric times, they had to pass through much the same process of evolution as did the rest of the human species. Artefacts give evidence of gradual change from paleolithic to neolithic stages, from the bronze to the iron periods, showing no great divergence from the ordinary sequence of such relics, except in two or three objects, which find no parallel in other countries. I mean the *maga-tama*, the curved gem, made of various kinds of stones in the shape of a magnified comma.

We can conceive it to be the imitation in costly material of the claws or fangs of animals. Then, there is an artefact made of stone in the shape of a hoe, but with a large hole and quite highly polished. With a few exceptions like these, there are indications that the earlier dwellers on Japanese soil were neither more backward nor more progressive than their continental neighbors in similar stages of development. Only—in Korea and China, the primitive stages had long been past before the Japanese began to use iron utensils. A reasonable hypothesis has been advanced that the founders of the Japanese Empire succeeded in subjugating the aboriginal tribes mainly because they knew the use of iron weapons. Whence the first conquerors came, we do not yet know. A strong case has been made for the theory that they came from some southern islands or possibly a southern part of China, and that on coming to Japan they conquered tribes which had entered the country from the north. The conqueror and the conquered mixed freely together, and from that amalgamation arose the Japanese or Japanic race, whose characteristics I presented in the first lecture.

In the present lecture I wish to speak about the introduction of the culture elements of Japanese life which are largely of Chinese origin, and of those that came from Korea. These were of the same origin. I shall call your attention, (1) to the coming of the Chinese and Koreans into the islands; (2) to the introduction and spread of Chinese literature and art; and (3) to the reasons

why Japan turned eastward to Western civilization.

I

Oversea communication between China and Japan and also between Korea and Japan was not impossible, even in primitive times, and for a people so advanced as the Chinese, navigation to Japan was not a great undertaking. Ships must have gone back and forth loaded with wares and with men. We can very well imagine large migrations from the continent. I made an allusion in my last lecture to the tradition that a group of young people migrated from China to Japan in the third century B.C. It is founded on a pretty legend about "three mountainous islands in the eastern sea," where the dwellers quaffed the elixir of life and enjoyed eternal bliss. In search of this El Dorado the Emperor Shih-Hwang of Chin Dynasty sent his physician, Jofuku by name, who took with him three hundred youths and three hundred maidens. On landing in Japan, the caravan proceeded to the foot of Mount Fuji and settled there for the rest of their life. In the meantime the poor Emperor waited in vain for the draught that would have made him immortal. By the irony of fate his dynasty was about the shortest in Chinese history, lasting only fifteen years.

The story of these early immigrants is not authenticated; but it is not beyond the range of possibility. Many such instances are likely to have happened. At later and historically determinable dates numerous groups of conti-

nentals came over to Japan at different times and settled in villages and towns. In those early days they probably brought with them their own culture traits. Being superior to the Japanese in matters of farming—and possibly of social well-being—they must have been pioneers in advanced agriculture and industries, and in social life in general.

I have often wondered whether it would have been possible for the Japanese of the eighth century to plan and build a capital city like Nara, unaided by foreign help. The chief designers, engineers, foremen, and probably many laborers, engaged in building the edifices which made world-famous that city, were most likely Koreans and Chinese. Many of them had no doubt been long domiciled in the country and some had adopted Japanese names. History has obscured their nativity, but we know that the leaders were of foreign origin. Why should I say "foreign"? They may not have been born Japanese, but they were largely naturalized citizens; and freely mixed with our population.

In the earliest census, which was taken early in the ninth century, it is surprising to see what a large proportion of aliens (Koreans and Chinese)—as many as 31 per cent.—played their part as residents of the capital. Then, both in the cities and in the farming sections lived immigrant families of all classes from the continent. They naturally introduced from their own tongues no small number of words which now form an important part of our vocab-

bulary.

From this brief survey of continental immigration we can imagine the ethnical contribution made by our neighbours to the original stock or stocks which were occupying the islands. If these were other than Mongoloid, their descendants were constantly Mongolized by addition from our continental cousins. But there were other than strictly ethnical ways in which China aided our national evolution.

II

Putting aside for the present the infiltration of Chinese cultural elements in prehistoric days, the steady inflow of Chinese literature and arts was the chief event in the fourth and several succeeding centuries.

When historians relate the conversion of Barbarians in Mediaeval Europe by Augustine, St. Boniface, Cyril, Willibrord, Methodius, *et alia*, they give us an impression that these missionaries who went, say to Gaul or England, the Balkans or Scandinavia, brought letters and culture to peoples who were utterly devoid of them. I confess I do not know enough to deny such statements, but I cannot help wondering whether groups of adventurous traders had not penetrated the heathen lands and prepared the ground for preachers to follow. So with the coming of the continental culture into Japan. It is related that in 384 A.D. a Korean envoy, Achiki by name, brought for the first time into the country the classics of Confucius.

At his recommendation, a Chinese professor, Wani, was invited by the Japanese Court to teach the learning of his country. As there was no Japanese script in those days, the Chinese ideograms were eagerly adopted by the scribes of the court and by the sons of the nobility who were placed under Chinese tutors. Learning was entirely in the hands of the aristocracy. It is not impossible, as I have hinted above, that a knowledge of Chinese writing and reading had been spread more or less among the comparatively intellectual portion of the people, long before 384 A.D. I do not mean that the story of Achiki's arrival is spurious. But I think that it means the formal recognition and open acceptance of a foreign teaching by the Government. Probably government officials had heard ere this of the Chinese classics being studied by some private individuals and of Chinese ideograms being used by them, so that when an envoy made a present of the books, these were officially accepted and in this way Chinese studies received the approval of the authorities. It is not unlikely that ideograms had already been adopted as a common means of communication among the more limited and intelligent classes. However, there is no doubt that when the stamp of government approval was put on the study of Chinese, it became a proper objective to pursue. It is interesting to note that the adoption of Chinese classics in the curriculum of newly started schools seemingly met with no opposition. For, usually, the introduction of any alien teaching is accompanied by hos-

tile demonstrations of a patriotic nature. Here again we can very well imagine that the presence of a large number of powerful Chinese scribes at the Emperor's Court made the way smooth. But a more important reason was that the Confucian doctrines contained nothing that could be interpreted as harmful to the political or moral ideas native to the soil. There is nothing radical in the doctrines of the sage. He never attempts metaphysical flight, nor does he ever soar into religious ecstasy. He sticks to the earth from beginning to end. He confines his teaching to the exercise of plain, commonplace duties. He dilates on the five moral relations,—namely between father and son, husband and wife, master and servant, brother and brother, friend and friend. He schematizes human virtues into eight classes :—Benevolence, Rectitude, Propriety, Knowledge, Fidelity, Veracity, Filiality, Fraternity. If Confucius does not take us to empyrean spheres, he carries us to some near-by heights and shows us a practical way to follow in order to live in prosaic peace and matter-of-fact relations with our fellows.

With the spread of Chinese literature there were made known other Masters than Confucius. Among these the most outstanding were Laotze and Mencius,—the mystic and the democrat, respectively. Neither of them exercised such far reaching authority as Confucius. While the other two were elevating and inspiring, he was stabilizing. His words had the power to quiet fiery spirits. The chief object of schools was to explain his sayings

collected in the *Analects*. If anyone was bold enough to cast the slightest doubt upon them, he was treated either as a lunatic or a heretic.

There is a story of a Japanese teacher who—when a question was asked him as to what he would do if Confucius, as general, and Mencius, as lieutenant, should invade the country—replied without hesitation—"I shall fall prostrate before them and surrender everything I have to them." It is a relief to hear of another schiolar who answered the same question by saying that he would "take them both prisoners and keep them to teach things." The latter spoke the Japanese mind.

Through the works of her great teachers the Japanese learned to admire China and to follow her in all things. In political institutions the Chinese doctrines were of utmost importance. They supplied principles of which primitive Japanese had only an intuitive feeling; but no articulate expression. In this respect we owe most to Confucius, for though Laotze was idealistic, socialistic and at times anarchic in a mild way, and though Mencius was often inclined to democracy and even socialism, Confucius was an advocate of existing social relations and of strong monarchism. He would see a state governed not only by law but by the personal influence of the sovereign and by the exercise of the gentler art of ceremonies and music. He stood more for conservative heroarchy than for juridical constitution.

The leading spirits of Japan being so thoroughly imbued

with Confucianism, her political institutions were naturally brought into harmony with its doctrines—hence, as early as the middle of the seventh century, there were put into execution two great reforms¹ which changed the whole structure of the Government. The basic principle of the Japanese monarchy was not touched, but the method of administration and the judiciary system were newly organized. About that time in China the great dynasty of Tang had just come into power, and was soon to show forth its glory as a patron of art and literature. No wonder that young Japan was enamoured of Chinese civilization. Exceedingly opportune was discovery of gold in Eastern Japan, early in the eighth century, for this helped her economically in the importation of the arts of the continent.

The conventional formalities to which Confucian teachers subjected their pupils would make a modern pedagogist stand aghast. Children—and adults too—were made to conform to rigid forms of discipline. Obedience—absolute obedience to parental order—was enforced as the first duty in life. Then would all other duties be fulfilled; for loyalty to the sovereign is obedience to his will, civic loyalty is obedience to the will (*i.e.* usages) of society. The ethics of the Great Master sound much like what Nietzsche calls “slave morality”—complete submission to the will of others. It is, therefore, not

¹ This refers to the Reforms of Taika and Taiho. Famous Laws were proclaimed in each of these eras. See below, p. 42.

surprising that his teachings are being discarded by the modern Chinese Communists, whose ambition is to bring about a perfectly new order of social ethics. You have perhaps heard of a new movement, which I neither think nor hope is a very important one. It is called the "No Father Society"—a movement like Bazarofism, which forms the theme of Turgenieff's *Fathers and Son*. The platform of this society is that we owe no duty to parents, and that parents have no right to exploit the services of their offspring. Children are not brought into the world at their own request. Why should they be a plaything of their mothers in early life and a support to their fathers in maturity? As I have said, I do not know how widespread the movement is; but a Japanese friend of mine, living in China, happened to be intimately acquainted with an elderly Chinese gentleman, who was a rather jovial fellow. One day when this man called on my friend, he looked like a broken being, dejected and tearful. Then he related that his son had joined the "No-Father" movement and neglected him entirely, and that he had now lost all pleasure and hope in life. My friend tried to comfort him, but he left disconsolate. A few weeks later he called on the Japanese again, but by this time he had regained his usual cheerfulness. To the inquiry of my friend whether the son had abandoned his disloyal ways, the old man answered with an air of satisfaction, "O no! but my grandson has also joined the movement". We may console ourselves with the thought that there is a law of

self-adjustment in the moral order of society.

Confucian precepts may be one-sided and partial, but they are founded on natural instincts and on the desire to curb the free play of undesirable natural propensities. He resorts to the use of conventionalities for this purpose, laying down rigid rules for social conduct. How absurd and reprehensible must appear to you such rules as that boys and girls must not sit together after the age of seven. I am curious to see how the old Master would look in a co-educational institution ! According to his teaching, too, a pupil must not presume to approach within eight feet of his teacher, nor must he tread even upon his teacher's shadow. I have not learned how many feet he prescribed for the width of school-corridors. We must remember Confucius was born 551 B.C. and died in 478 B.C. That is to say he was born about seventy-five years after Buddha and died about seventy-five years before Plato ; but what a far cry from him to these great teachers !

Far Eastern mentality was moulded by Confucius. Conservatism was its guiding spirit. Conventionality was its method. Rigid formalism was its result. The "cycle of Cathay" was the gift of the sage. It is not my intention to disparage the debt we owe to the old Chinese civilization. Judging from the present standard, we find in it elements not at all conducive to the greatest good of the nation ; but we must remember when Solon was asked whether he had given the Athenians the best laws, he answered, "The best that they would receive."

Japan was not fit for anything better.

The reforms made in Japan, thanks to Chinese and Korean influences, extended to all spheres of national life. Social etiquette, and many customs were greatly improved. It is interesting to note, however, that our manner of living was least affected. The Japanese had been eating rice before coming in close contact with their continental neighbors, so that the main article of diet was not changed, and though the Chinese are great consumers of meat this custom was not followed by the Japanese, for several reasons: 1. there was abundance of fish to serve as a substitute for meat; 2. the Japanese were not pastoral at any time and not accustomed to a meat diet; and 3. the Shinto religion was meticulous about the shedding of blood. 4. Later, Buddhism discouraged the eating of what little meat was used—chicken, for instance.

In house construction, too, Chinese influence was but little felt. Our house is probably of South-Sea origin. In the material for construction and in the partition of rooms, the Japanese house is not at all like the Chinese. As to clothing, the ancient Japanese used wood fibres of different kinds, but they got cotton and silk from China. Out of these materials, we wove our own stuff and cut and sewed in a way very different from the Chinese costume. In the mode of living, the Japanese did not sit on stools or chairs as did and do the Chinese. Thus, in the general manner of daily living the customs of China did

not affect us much. This fact is particularly significant in a careful study of culture diffusion. When seventy years ago Japan made a sudden move for the adoption of Western ideas and institutions, the private homes and the very manner of living were affected. In other words, the culture of China did not penetrate into the private life of individuals but remained largely with public institutions.

On the whole, however, Chinese influence was incalculable. Professor Chamberlain, one of the greatest authorities on things Japanese, has rightly remarked that the Japanese imported everything from China except cleanliness. By way of explanation I may add that the national habit of the Japanese to bathe frequently—daily, I may say—is often cited as an inheritance from their Malay ancestors, who are even yet semi-aquatic in their habits. Mr. Chamberlain's remark may be interpreted to mean that Chinese influence did not touch the person or the soul of the individual.

In another sphere—the vital sphere of the spirit—has Chinese culture exercised a benevolent and beneficial influence, though it did not penetrate to depths of thought. I refer to the powerful influence of language.

Chinese letters were introduced into Japan when there was not the crudest form of writing in the archipelago. The Japanese, in writing their own history, had to resort to Chinese ideograms. The earliest writers had only Chinese books to read. How could they escape being

profoundly moved by continental ideas? It was like the first contact of totally unlettered North-European barbarians with Latin speaking missionaries. They read, or tried to read, the Scriptures in Latin. But in Japan, almost from the beginning, native scholars read Chinese characters *à la japonaise*;—that is, they used them as symbols for their language and vehicles of their own thought. Instead of pronouncing them like the original Chinese, they gave them Japanese equivalents. For instance the ideogram which means "man" is pronounced *jen* in Chinese and *hito* in Japanese. To both peoples the ideogram conveys the same meaning. We may compare this method to the reading of Arabic numerals by different European peoples. Here is a short straight stroke. It connotes one, and the English pronounces it "one", the French "un", the German "ein", the Italian "uno", etc., etc.

The Japanese adopted wholesale the system of Chinese writing without adopting Chinese phonetics. They thereby enriched their vocabulary greatly, but later simplified some of the commoner ideograms and gave them Japanese phonetic values and formed a syllabary of fifty letters known as *kana*, which made reading and writing accessible to the masses. Thus the general spread of Chinese ideograms did not make the sons of Japan mentally more Chinese, but helped to make them more Japanese—thus illustrating well the point that foreign studies do not denationalize a nation.

III

Since we came so completely under the sway of Continental culture, why did we alter the habit of fifteen centuries and turn our mind to Western civilization? For Japanese history of the last seventy years is clearly the history of occidentalization.

On this subject I wish to call your attention to two causes—one historical, tangible, based on experience, and the other, imponderable, based on observation. As I shall have to explain more in detail in a subsequent lecture, I shall confine myself now to a few general remarks. By historical events which converted us to the régime of the Occident, I may say, in a word, that in coming in contact with America at the time of Commodore Perry's expedition in 1853, and a few years later with European countries, we discovered that we were no match for them in military accoutrement and in the material equipments of civilization. We found that it was of no use to assert our superiority or even equality, when we could not be sure of our own defence, independence and integrity.

The second reason why Japan turned to the Occident is that the Japanese are realists in politics, and when the choice lies between protestations of power on the one hand, and actual power on the other, they can easily make up their mind. They perceived about the middle of the last century, how helpless was the government of China, founded on the old traditions, when confronted with the

power represented by English and French guns. In the imperialistic raid upon the Celestial Empire they read the lesson, that, unless they adopted the Western weapons of warfare as well as the Western arts and sciences of peace, it would be impossible to avoid the fate of China.

Figuratively speaking, we suddenly "faced about" westward—though actually eastward—to America and Europe, for new knowledge and new inspiration. We became the vanguard of Western civilization in Asia, introducing the arts of peace as well as of war from the Occident.

I have tried to show in this lecture that much as we owe to China our debt lies chiefly in the field of the intellect—art and literature—and in institutions. Our domestic life has not been touched nor has the inmost soul of the race. Hence, on grave occasions, the borrowed institutions and doctrines, learned by rote, as it were, gave way to realities. I have hinted that our recent occidentalization is a case in point, and the feudal régime under which we lived for eight centuries, until sixty years ago, is another. I shall therefore proceed to show how feudalism was initiated in Japan as a reaction against excessive Chinese influence and how the real demands of time and place gave birth to similar systems—whether in the West or in the East. The subject for my next lecture will be "European and Japanese Feudalism".

CHAPTER III

JAPANESE AND EUROPEAN FEUDALISM

In beginning this lecture I must remind my audience of the thesis I presented at the end of my last address. I said then that the highly developed philosophy and political theories of the Chinese sages, when transplanted to Japan, in spite of the many modifications that were made to adapt them to Japanese conditions, proved still inadequate in the long run to satisfy all the actual needs and real demands of the people. Being rabid realists in politics, the Japanese found their mistake in introducing from abroad more than they could digest. They had to devise political institutions to suit them better, and these cannot be devised in a night. The body politique, like all organic beings, must have vitality within and must grow from within. If laws and institutions are simply imposed from without they lack the essential of life and from non-application to outside environment die speedily of atrophy. They are not like an idea that can be put on paper and which stays there for edification. It may be an immortal idea but it may do nothing. The Chinese people have a happy mentality in this respect. They are great literary composers, and, as a Chinese friend of mine once said, they care more for the form than for the contents of an expression. A delightful story was told me by a well

known professor in one of your greatest universities, who was present on the occasion when a Chinese statesman gave an address to a small select party in New York. This was about six or seven years ago. When the Chinese ended his glowing account of the newly started Republic, a United States senator who happened to be present remarked that in his own country, America, no sooner was the Republic started than schools were built in every village and town, because its founders considered education to be the *sine qua non* of democracy. So, he wondered how the "Sister Republic" of China could be kept up with so much illiteracy as he understood was still existing there. To which the Chinese statesman replied that he had only lately received a telegram from his government telling him that "illiteracy was abolished." The American professor who told me the story made some observation on this enviable trait of Chinese mentality, which identifies an idea with a reality, a wish with its fulfilment, a subjective notion with an objective fact.

Fortunately or unfortunately the Japanese are not so idealistic, and they resorted to a more realistic system of governing their country, and this was feudalism.

I shall endeavor to show (1) how feudalism was begun in our country; (2) how analogous our system was to that of Europe, showing the universal character of the institution; and (3) how it ended and gave rise to Modern Japan.

I

The Japanese are too matter-of-fact or else they would have lived contentedly under the make-believe imitation of the social and political régime of the Tang dynasty, which had certainly reached a very high degree of efficiency and grandeur.

The framers of the Taika and Taiho laws of which I have spoken, naïvely thought that by transcribing Chinese laws and proclaiming them they were carrying on the functions of an enlightened government ; but these laws stayed in black and white, written in picturesque calligraphy, like an artistic decoration—and a decoration they were, since they pleased the eye and satisfied the sense of vanity without serving any useful purpose.

While these enlightened laws were carefully deposited on a shelf, there arose in Japan, independently of them and from sheer necessity, a set of legal and administrative practices which were in keeping with the popular usages and ideas of the time. This was particularly true in remote places. These practices were like equity cases based on common sense. They lacked the finesse and subtleties of the written codes ; but they were practical and the people could be convinced of their reasonableness, if not entirely of their justice. In lawsuits, judgement was very often passed according to "reason", which meant the customary laws in contradiction to the beautifully inscribed statutes, as though these were not reasonable.

Not only in laws but in administrative machinery, the imitation of the continental model could not work. The centralization of power which made the Tang Empire so magnificent found no equivalent in Japan, where the Emperor's palace (in Nara and later in Kyoto) was infested with priests and poets and was sunken in lethargy. His sway was not accompanied by force or by achievement of any kind. It was felt only in the vicinity of the capital, but away from it there was no peace, order, or good government. Banditry had free play in the countryside. Taking advantage of the general disorder, the strong in arms helped themselves to the fat of the land. Means of communication being bad, local magnates could do as they pleased without any fear of interference from the Capital. As the Court had still retained nominal power, these nobles, (*i.e.* local land-lords) obtained legal title to the land besides an official appointment from the Emperor and governed their districts in his name. They at first sent some tribute to the Capital ; but as the royal authority declined, they assumed more and more independence and as each robber baron exercised his power more freely, he came more frequently in conflict with his neighbor, hence arose constant warfare among them. Yet the central government could do nothing to chastise or help either side. The struggle had to be settled among the disputants themselves, at the point of the sword, with scant respect to the Emperor's will—and thus civil commotion and unrest grew constantly worse. The country

was in chaos. What local laws were proclaimed could not be executed. The only effective law was the *Faustrecht*—fist law. Each man had to protect his life, his property, his family. Under these circumstances, the weaker seeks the protection of the stronger, on condition that he should place his whole property at the disposal of the protector. The stronger then feels responsible for the safety of his protégé and must arm himself. The more protégés he has, or what amounts to the same thing, the more lands that are placed under his care or for his use, the larger must be his troops, and the larger the troops the more ravages does he carry on. The beginning of feudalism was a tale of woe and crime, of the conquest of brute force in human form. Whoever could create any order out of general chaos was the benefactor.

The Japanese word *Daimyo*, literally “Great Name”, shows that he was the man who controlled many estates bearing the names of private owners. Theoretically, from time immemorial the land, being national territory, was regarded as belonging to the Sovereign. All lands were his dominion. Mencius enunciated this principle forcibly by saying—“There is no corner of land which is not the King’s, no man who is not his subject”. Lands that were opened and cultivated by the sweat of the brow practically belonged to the tiller, but in theory he was only a tenant and he had to pay tax or rent for them. All pieces of land bore proper names, designating either their character or their owners. Hence they were called *mei-*

den, "fields with names". The *daimyo* was the man who owned many such, and he was the seignior, the feudal prince. Being, however, nominally subject to the Sovereign, he was careful to get his title from his Ruler. There was no lord without a title and no land without a lord. He was the tenant-in-chief, and exercised a kingly power in his possessions—the power of taxation, of coinage, of capital punishment, of waging war against his fellow barons.

I have said that the *daimyo* needed an armed force to assert his claims (which were sometimes very dubious) against others, and the *samurai* supplied this. Etymologically, *samurai* means companions or men who wait upon a superior. They formed retainers, vassals, who were the constant companions of the *daimyo* in peace and in war. By him they were recompensed in lands, over which they in turn could exercise almost as absolute an authority as did their master over his province. These lands were handed down from father to son—as a rule to the first son, by the law of primogeniture—but not to a daughter, because land holding implied military service. As inheritance was restricted to male progeny, all holders of fiefs were anxious to have sons. In order to satisfy this necessary condition of vassalage, they resorted to concubinage, or to a system of adopting male heirs, when their lawful wives were childless or had only daughters.

It is evident from my hasty description that land was an essential factor of the feudal régime. The land was

their history is better known. But feudalism was by no means confined to Western Europe. It existed in Scandinavia, in the central states and in Russia. Indeed it existed in Persia, and seems to be still flourishing there. In ancient Egypt, Abyssinia, Madagascar and Mexico, the system was in vogue. The controversy between the Romanists and the Germanists as to the land in which the feudal idea originated, may well cease with the statement that it was everywhere *sui generis*.

The régime that prevailed in France, Spain, England and Germany is so strikingly like that which existed in Japan, that a search for the differences rather than for the similarities may lead to some valuable discoveries regarding fundamental characteristics and reveal what degree of truth there may be in the oft-repeated assertion in Kipling's *Ballad of East and West*.

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,

Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat ; "

Would that the entire stanza were always recalled in the lines that follow—

"But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,

When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth ! "

Even the date of the beginnings of feudalism is surprisingly close. European feudalism is generally attributed to

the disruption of the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century. In the eleventh century it was transplanted to England by the Normans. Three centuries later it reached Scandinavian countries.

Strangely enough these dates coincide with ours. A hasty historian would have dilated on another flagrant illustration of Japanese imitation ! The ninth century was the age in our history when the central authority was decidedly waning and when local magnates were correspondingly rising in affluence and influence. The growth of these semi-independent local magnates naturally led to incessant internal turmoil during the eleventh century, a period which marked the incompetence of the central authority. The power that put a stop to this general chaos was not the central authority but one of those many parties that were fighting for hegemony. By the end of the twelfth century Yoritomo succeeded in subduing all of his rivals and put a stop to lawlessness and local tyranny. If this had happened in Europe or Asia, he would have forthwith proclaimed himself Emperor. And here is shown a peculiar Japanese mental trait. Weak as was the power of the Emperor's Court, Yoritomo, who is the hero of this tale, did not aspire to wrest the throne from its legitimate incumbent. On the contrary, he paid particular homage to the Emperor, helped to build up the palaces and raised the royal prestige. He was infinitely more powerful than the Sovereign, but he preserved intact the highest honor for the Ruling House. He gov-

erned the country as the vice-regent of the Emperor. The system he initiated is known as the *Shogunate*, because the title he assumed was *Shogun*—Generalissimo, Commander-in-chief—and as such he held himself responsible for the peace of the country, prepared to fight against external and internal disturbers. Being responsible for peace he assumed civil authority as well—including judicial power. He organized local government in a way that reminds one of the feudal régime in Europe, though I must say that the manorial system as it developed in England was foreign to our soil.

The system he instituted lasted long after he died, and naturally underwent many changes. But its final form was given it by Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty, early in the seventeenth century. After that time it remained unmodified for three hundred years. The date of its formal abolition is 1872, only sixty years ago—but its vestiges are still visible in country places.

Thus, feudalism in Japan had a long career of nearly six centuries, during which no less than three hundred feudal states wrestled with and jostled one another for ascendancy. It trained the people to be ever on the alert for any surprise, to be on the look-out for an emergency. It encouraged them to be cautious with the inhabitants of the neighboring states,—in other words, to be suspicious of hypothetical enemies. Ruse and strategy passed for wisdom. Some of the most successful princes behaved like Machiavelli's Prince. It deepened the gaps between

social classes. It repressed the liberty of the people and increased the servility of a lower class as against the higher. At the same time, it raised the sense of honor among the ruling classes. It encouraged the sentiment of *noblesse oblige*. It gave impetus to acts of bravery, to bold exploits. It inculcated the spirit of self-denial, in that the *samurai* were not richly endowed with worldly goods. They were taught to devote what little they had to a higher cause than their own enjoyment. Self-surrender was their daily lesson. Life itself was deemed "as light as a feather" in a weighty cause. They cultivated friendliness with death itself. Unconsciously was a code of morals, Bushido, the Way of the Fighting Knights, formed and observed by the *daimyo* and the *samurai*. And in this code we see innumerable common points with the European precepts of chivalry. In some of his idealistic aspirations Don Quixote represents many an honest *samurai*. Excepting the strange reverence for women, which in reality was often abused—and because of which Gibbon said he blushed—the European knight and the Japanese *samurai* will find each in the other the most congenial companion. The mental and moral legacy of Feudal Japan, both in its strong and weak aspects, is still in force in the present generation; and as the subject deserves a special treatment I shall one evening devote an hour to its consideration.

A keen student will detect in many details points of resemblance between the European and Japanese feudal

systems—as, for instance, in the forms of *homagium* and *investitura*, of *beneficio* and *commendatio*, in military serjeanties, in honorable and base services, in *désaveu* or the cessation of feudal relationship, etc. Highly interesting will also be the comparison between the moral effects of feudalism. In this study one will be impressed with the similarity of the method of training young knights—even in their pastimes, e.g. in games, the chase, falconry, tournament.

The numerous parallels between Western and Eastern feudalism should be brought to a close with the termination of the system in the two centuries—in Europe in the fifteenth century and in Japan four hundred years later. In taking a survey of the whole range covered by feudalism the world over, our judgement is divided in regard to its beginning and to its latter end. We are inclined to repeat what a wise critic said about Augustus and Septimius Severus ;—that as these men did infinite mischief in their beginnings, and infinite good towards their ends, they should either never have been born or never have died. If a Latin story sounds antiquated, I may cite a modern one of little Dora, whom a barking dog frightened out of her wits. “Don’t you see, dear, how the doggie is wagging its tail at you?” said the father, whereupon she answered, “Yes,—but I hear him barking and I don’t know which end to believe.”

There is this end to believe in Japanese feudalism—that if peace is desirable at all costs, it secured this. It was born

in the noise of drums ; it died in the sound of flutes. It fed and grew fat on war, and famished in the peace it nourished. I do not think there is another country which ever enjoyed unbroken peace for two and a half centuries—and that under a feudal régime. If the Japanese people are accused of a militaristic mentality, here is proof to the contrary.

III

In Europe the decline of Feudalism is attributed to (1) the rise of the consciousness of nationality ; (2) the discovery of gunpowder as a means of warfare ; (3) the growth of industries and of cities with their money economy ; and (4) the influence of the Church with particular reference to warfare. The causes that led Japan to give up feudalism were also manifold ; but we had nothing like the discovery of gunpowder or the Roman Catholic Church. Most certainly the consciousness of nationhood and the economic disadvantages that came in the train of the dismemberment of the country into some three hundred practically separate states, each at loggerheads with the other, were the chief factors that sealed the fate of our feudal system. But the part that commerce played in weakening feudalism was not as strong in Japan as it was in Europe, simply because Japanese commerce was altogether internal,—whereas the merchants and towns that broke the power of the barons in Europe were chiefly engaged in the international trade

of the North and the Mediterranean Seas. The economic factor that did most to break down the system in Japan was the impoverishment of the *daimyo* and *samurai* through their extravagance, and the consequent rise of merchants, due to the spread of money economy.

But there was a more direct and potent influence that hastened its downfall. It came from without when we were little aware of it. It was the advance of Western Powers into Asia. In our own particular case it was the coming of Commodore Perry.

But rightly to understand why an event, by itself not so momentous,—namely the arrival of three small American warships—should have proved itself a potent cause of so mighty a transformation in the Far East, it is necessary to take up another thread in the history of Japan. I shall therefore take up for my next lecture the subject “The Isolation of Japan.”

CHAPTER IV

THE JAPANESE POLICY OF ISOLATION

The policy of isolation or seclusion, which is to be my subject this evening, is closely associated with that of feudalism, of which I spoke in my last lecture. I then closed my address by stating that Oriental and Occidental feudalism, which were so alike in many respects, never differed more than in the way they ended. The abolition of feudalism in Japan was largely due to a cause unknown in Europe. I then hinted that this was the long continued policy of national isolation. I shall therefore try to explain this evening (1) what is meant by Isolation ; (2) the effect of that policy on the life of the nation ; and (3) how it ended, and how the country emerged from its abolition.

I

By the isolation of a community is meant the closing up of intercourse, commercial or social, with other communities or states. It is a self-imposed abnegation of all communion. Sure enough, feudalism itself implies isolation ; for each feudal state is self-contained and is a law unto itself. The old City-state of Sparta also pursued an isolation policy. China, too, had long shut herself off from the rest of the world.

But I am afraid no nation did it more completely or more consistently than did Japan, thanks to her geographical location. When England boasted of her "splendid solation," she, too, had to thank the "inviolate seas" around her for it.

But we are told by ethno-geographers that seas do not necessarily isolate a country. I have myself said that Japan was a melting-pot of races, as Hawaii is now, on account of her maritime position. Seas can unite as well as separate. The Japanese, even after historic times, were in frequent communication with the continent and with the people of the southern seas. As to the Japanese going out to other lands, there were several instances of our pirates ravaging the neighboring coasts and of respectable merchants venturing far to trade—even as far as Siam. If Columbus had waited some years or if Queen Isabella had not pawned her jewels, either the Chinese or the Japanese would have discovered America; for there is a natural sea-way, a current, in the Pacific Ocean, which, as in the affairs of men, if "taken at the flood will lead on" to America. There were several instances of fishermen, shipwrecked on the coast of Japan, having drifted by the current to the coast of Oregon.

It seems that no nation is sufficient unto itself, any more than an individual. Man is greater than his country, and if, as Nurse Cavell said, "Patriotism is not enough," neither does the best of countries satisfy the whole of man. For that matter, the entire globe itself will not fill his

spirit. It is not Alexander alone who will weep for other worlds, if he has already got one. As Carlyle said "man's yearning is a token of his greatness." A nation's yearning may not be so imperative, because a nation's soul is still so inchoate, and yet if the policy of a state had always been framed in accordance with the natural desire of normal man, there would nowhere have been seclusion or isolation. But, to a statesman, moralizing observations of this sort avail little. He has to deal with present facts, including all human frailties and prejudices, malice and enmity, and not with man in the abstract.

Now in Japan, until the middle of the sixteenth century, there was complete toleration of all creeds and beliefs. I have told in a previous lecture how Chinese philosophies, even of the most radical bent, were leniently treated. When Buddhism was first introduced, in the fourth century, there was some trouble as I shall describe in a subsequent lecture ; but that did not last long. The statesmen of the country cared only for the safety of the land and the material welfare of the people. Why should statesmen care for what the people believe, as long as they do not disturb the peace of the state ? As Gibbon said, all religions are to their devotees equally true, to philosophers equally false and to magistrates equally useful. When Christianity was first preached in Japan by the Spanish Jesuits and Franciscans they were left entirely free to proselyte. But when it was found, or suspected on some reliable ground, that the pious missionaries—per-

haps some of them—were spies and fore-runners of their country's armies, the policy of exterminating the influence of the church set in. For this purpose persecution was not sufficient. The *padres* (Catholic missionaries) had to leave the country on pain of death. No new *padres* were allowed to enter the country. Anybody, native or foreign, whose views savored of Christianity was not to be tolerated within the country. Even laymen of European origin were not allowed to land—with the exception of a few Dutchmen, who declared themselves to be the enemies of Spain. We must remember that this was the time when the Dutch Republic was first founded. Not only that, no Japanese was permitted by the law of 1624 to go abroad, for fear he might come back contaminated with the "evil faith." Not content with the exclusion of foreigners, the law of 1636 forbade ships above a certain tonnage to be built, in order to prevent the Japanese themselves from sailing far from home. If at times some poor natives who had been wrecked on the high seas and rescued on some foreign soil, found their way home, they were not permitted to land. Such was the case, when, in 1837, an American China merchant, Mr. King, took seven ship-wrecked Japanese in his ship, the *Morrison*, to Nagasaki—only to find them refused landing.

So, Japan's policy of isolation meant not only the exclusion of foreigners, but the inclusion of the natives within the country. It meant complete seclusion. Yet it is worth nothing that in the hostility to aliens, there appears

no race prejudice. Even during the period of seclusion, when ship-wrecked people of a foreign nationality were drifted to our shores, they were always treated with kindness. Even Iyeyasu, who initiated the policy, said that "if devils from hell should come to my country, I will treat them as angels from heaven." The motive for seclusion was purely political, the safe-guarding of the territory.

II

How did the policy work? What was its effect? To what extent was it really enforced? It seems at first glance that such an absurd policy could not be successful. The Americans, law-abiding people as they are, know better than most peoples that there are laws which are made to break. But they also know that their exclusion laws can be more strictly enforced than the Eighteenth Amendment.

From the time they were promulgated beginning in 1614, the isolation laws were most stringently enforced. Christianity was, to all appearance, absolutely rooted out by the blood of martyrs. I qualify my statement with the phrase "to all appearance", because there was a remnant hidden in the backwoods or in mines, retaining faith for several centuries—as has become interestingly evident in recent decades. The country was purged of all foreigners, and was hermetically sealed to them, whether they were dedicated to religion or commerce. The only aliens privileged to stay were, as I have said, a handful of Dutch-

In the ordinary life of private citizens there was safety as long as laws were obeyed. They led a careless, merry life. Not having even a hypothetical enemy or a rival country to compete with, men lacked incentive for exertion. They were self-contented. What they wanted for food or clothing or housing was produced in the country. They had not learned to miss things from abroad, so entirely self-satisfied was the country. The population naturally remained stationary, and this was due not to birth control but to abortion and infanticide. In many a *daimiate* Draconian laws were in operation against these inhuman practices, but they were ineffective in checking the evil.

Such, then, were the general effects of the isolation policy—detrimental to the free play of the human mind, depriving the people of a foreign incentive, checking the flight of imagination by denying the knowledge of the larger world, reducing the energies of land and people to their lowest level, keeping down population to a small number, preventing the more energetic from engaging in bold enterprises. The policy of isolation made of Japan a sort of garden, small and dainty, tended by little people who knew nothing beyond the pretty little things within the hedges. She knew nothing of the world, and the world knew nothing of her. She became an enigma, an unreality, as much as the great world became a puzzle to her. She just kept herself alive. To continue existence even in the state of complete torpor is the object of hibernation.

I wish I could draw a more attractive picture of the days of isolation. I am afraid the younger generation in my country are forgetting the dismal side of that policy. As distance lends enchantment to the view, so is the past emitting a glow which it did not possess. I know that in contemporary Japan there is a strong tendency in some quarters to paint those days in roseate colors—as romantic and idyllic—and to speak of our grandfathers' lives as happy and carefree. We must be careful about the words we use in regard to the past. The worst thing can be put in terms that will raise it to our highest esteem. I have recently heard of an ambitious woman who wanted an honorable pedigree and consulted a genealogist who discovered that one of her ancestors was electrocuted for a shameful crime. The disconcerted lady wished the record to be altered and, upon being paid a large fee, the genealogist stated that in later life So-and-So occupied a Chair of Electricity.

I wish I might conscientiously extol the régime of Isolation ; but I have seen too much of the world to think of narrow nationalism as a blessing. It is not even a possibility, in these days of swift communication and opportunity for mutual understanding. The whole world is committed to global co-operation, and he who does not rise on this swelling tide will be left to wade in shoals of mud.

There is, however, another phase of the Seclusion policy for which I think we might be thankful. If it had not

men who were given a restricted quarter in Nagasaki, where they lived under strict espionage and control. The nation's gates were also locked on the outside, so that her own sons could not get in or out.

So, then, Japan began her hibernation early in the seventeenth century—not to greet the spring until the middle of the nineteenth century. She passed this interval without the least knowledge (except for faint rumors brought to her ears by the Dutch traders) of the Thirty Years' War or the English Civil War, of the Restoration or the Glorious Revolution, of the reign of the Grand Monarch, of Peter the Great or Charles XII, of Catherine II or of Frederick the Great, of the partition of Poland, or the American War of Independence, of the French Revolution or of Napoleon. It is hard to realize how long she hibernated. All these European nations had in those years been engaged in life-and-death struggles. They were strengthening their sinews by constant exercise. They were straining their intellect in solving questions of law, justice and finance. They were even sharpening their wits to settle which creed, Catholic or Protestant, was the truth. But all the great storms that rocked the continent of Europe did not stir a blade of grass in the land of blissful ignorance. Here reigned peace—perhaps the longest continued peace ever enjoyed by any nation—peace which, according to Shakespeare, rusts iron, increases tailors, breeds ballad-writers and is a maker of cuckolds and a getter of bastard children. While it cannot be denied

that peace is often accompanied by these deteriorating influences, it has its virtuous side also. The *Pax Tokugawa* was fruitful of a culture peculiar to Japan. As the artists and literati of that age had no access to foreign pattern, they had to look into their own souls and to produce some original works. Working under a vigilant government and in a hierarchical society, art and literary productions failed to rouse any great spirit, or, if there were any, did not give it utterance ; but in minutæ of workmanship, in delicacy of design, few peoples can excel those who were trained in the age of isolation and feudalism.

Though the Chinese classics were taken under direct government patronage and control, official commentaries on the works of Confucius were spread under compulsion, while great heretics, such as Laotze, Moti, Mencius, Wang Yan Ming, were connived at. No great systems of philosophy were invented, and the best minds were engaged in writing commentaries on classics or in grinding out second-rate Chinese verses.

The authorities were afraid of any originality of ideas or boldness of expression. Inventions and discoveries were carefully watched with suspicion and rigorously suppressed. Rigid conventionality reigned supreme. Everything was moulded to a regulated pattern. Every person was labelled. The interferences of the state extended to the size and shape of cakes. Sumptuary laws prescribed the colors and designs of dress for both sexes. Needless to say, class distinctions were insuperable.

been for the aloofness of the country, we might very well imagine the nominal conversion of the whole population to the Roman Catholic faith, and even if Spain could not have made of Japan a colony, the influence of Spanish culture could not have been avoided. If such had been her fate, where would Japan be now? Probably Spanish literature would have penetrated the intelligentsia class: Spanish politics would have interested us most; Spanish heroes would have fascinated the mind of our youth: Spanish views of life would have affected our *Weltanschauung*; our country-side would have been studded with Spanish architecture like some places in California.

The seclusion lasted just long enough for Japan to emerge into the world at the time of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. We sat at the feet of Anglo-Saxon teachers. Their individualism was certainly not to our liking. Their materialism was distasteful. Their idea of religion does not fully appeal to us. But their practical good sense, their sense of justice, their honesty, industry and patience win our admiration and confidence. We have gained infinitely by rending the veil of seclusion at that juncture and not earlier. We came into the light of day in the fulness of time.

/ Modern Japan is the fruit of a marriage between the East and the West. It is not a sterile hybrid, but a prolific one, full of promise to herself and to the world. The most chauvinistic will find little that was lost to the nation by allying herself with the West. On the contrary, he

will find much that she has gained. When the veil of seclusion was torn apart Japan made every effort to Europeanize herself. In a way she was more willing and fit to do so than if she had never had the veil. At one time there were as many as five hundred Europeans and Americans in government employ, in the capacity of experts and advisers. They were not forced upon her, but were engaged by the government of its own free accord. They were *nakodo*—the “middlemen” who negotiated the wedding of the East and the West.

As isolation implied inclusion, namely, keeping its citizens within the country, so the revocation of the policy implied the reversal of inclusion. The authorities now took every means to encourage the people to go abroad. The government selected promising young men and women to go to different countries, according to the branches of study they wished to pursue. The first group was sent to the United States in the early seventies. Students sent abroad by the Department of Education alone, in the last sixty years number over three thousand. Many other government departments—the Navy, the Army, the Railway, the Department of Communications, etc.—have sent out their appointees. At present it is estimated that nearly three hundred government students are abroad, of whom one-half are in Germany. This number is enormously increased if we add those who are staying abroad on their own responsibility.

But as yet the advantages of the abolition of isolation

have been almost exclusively on the side of Japan. She was a passive recipient and beneficiary. Has she nothing to offer in return? The art and ideas she developed during her seclusion were unique, but as they were the product of a time when there were no relations whatever with Europe, they lacked the elements that would be intelligible, much less congenial, to European taste. But as Europe and America study the principles of art in general, they are sure to detect in our art something that was lacking in theirs. We have a great living artist (some say he is the greatest Japanese painter of the last two and a half centuries)—an artist by the name of Seiho, who has a pet theory that there is a No-man's land in the field of art, which neither Eastern nor Western artists have penetrated, and that their future task will be to develop that region.

Likewise, there are ideas in our conception of life which are still too vague and subtle to be expressed in words—ideas or sentiments which, for want of a better term, Lafcadio Hearn called “crepuscular.”

III

It is only two generations ago, seventy years, since Japan awoke from her period of hibernation. She came out of it rather emaciated: She knew she was famished and weak. During the isolation period her mind was warped, so that her capacity for measuring things and events was dwarfed and distorted. When Commodore

Perry came to our coast with a display of some force, the size of his fleet was effective enough to make our isolationists quiver. It was a good demonstration of the progress the West had made while we were in seclusion. He also brought us a number of presents, all showing how much advanced American civilization was, and we were amazed and had to confess our inferiority. But there was a die-hard party in those days—I think Japan can claim a right to priority for that distinction in die-hards!—who refused to admit the superiority of the West. Even during the effeminate years of Isolation, the *samurai* in country-places had been exercising the art of war, and if the central authorities should give up seclusion from fear or for commercial advantage, they (the *samurai*) would maintain it at the point of the sword. There was a large and influential party whose slogan was *sakoku jōi*—“close up the country and drive out foreigners.”

But a timely and disastrous experience of two of the most powerful feudal lords in fighting with a few Western powers convinced them of their utter inability to defend the country against foreign weapons. The scales fell suddenly from the eyes of the die-hards, and when, in 1868, the young Emperor Meiji ascended the throne, he proclaimed far and wide the principles of his government, in which were contained the “abolition of all old absurd policies”—among others, that of isolation. He went so far as to proclaim that “knowledge shall be sought throughout the world.”

A strange opinion is circulated at present in some circles in Japan, that she should return to Asia, cutting off her connection with the West. While I confess my ignorance as to the real import of so novel a doctrine, it sounds very much like going back into her old shell of seclusion. The opinion is said to emanate from the idea that Japan's hands are likely to be tied in her relations with the Asiatic continent, if she is bound by treaties with Europe and America. It is hard for me to believe that such an idea could find support in the twentieth century in a country which owes her recent rise and power to Western influences. It is not impossible that she may feel compelled to leave the League of Nations, but such a step does not necessitate her returning to the old Asiatic régime of seclusion. Those who uphold the above slogan seem to think their forebears in the last two generations went too far in occidentalizing the nation, just as their ancestors did in sinifying their generations in the Nara and Kyoto days. Such men might fight for the revival of seclusion ; but, were it only for the supply of war potentials, a nation could not isolate herself, and Japan has no raw materials with which to manufacture arms and ammunition. No, the slogan cannot be sincere. It is not consistent with realist statesmanship. The age of seclusion is gone forever. We cannot retrace our steps any more than we can turn backward the hands of a clock. The most unwilling nation—the blackest sheep—must come into the universal fold. I do not mean to indulge in levity on so momentous

a question ; but I am reminded of a truant boy who came to school late. When scolded by a teacher he said—“ You know, sir, how badly frozen and slippery the road is. Each time I took a step forward I slid two steps backward ”. When the teacher told him that at that rate he could never have reached the school, he said—“ yes, sir, I knew it and therefore I turned round and tried to walk backwards.” With our face “ backwards ” to Asia, we shall land in international co-operation !

Trade considerations are in themselves justification of the policy of being in close touch with the West. The more so is this true when we think of trade in its widest sense—not only the exchange of material goods but of thought and sentiments as well. Allow me to explain my meaning further in the next lecture, which will be on the “ Opening of Japan and Foreign Trade.”

CHAPTER V

OPENING OF JAPAN AND FOREIGN TRADE

In my last lecture I hinted that the revocation of the seclusion laws was not sufficient to bring Japan into the common fold of international comity and amity. Mankind in general is not yet mature enough to find satisfaction in Platonic love. The body is dearer than the mind. Nations find a more lasting and assuring bond in the exchange of material goods than in that of ideas and sentiments.

Trade relations are in the modern world the surest guarantees of international friendship, and when Japan broke down the barrier artificially set by the isolation laws, she first declared her purpose and started at once to trade with the West. I shall treat the development of our foreign trade with special reference to America,—not as a business man or an economist, but as an ordinary layman interested in the general welfare of his country and the maintenance of friendly relationship between the two nations. For this purpose, the points I shall raise will be, (1) the beginnings of our foreign trade; (2) the importance of our trade relations from political and social standpoints; and (3) future prospects of our trade.

I

As I said in my last address, no individual or community

of individuals, that is to say no tribe or nation, can live by itself for any length of time. An American wit has defined isolation, "Alone in the cold"—the term being derived from English *ice*, meaning cold, and Latin *solus*, alone. I think it was Adam Smith who defined man as an animal that exchanges. So essential to man's satisfaction are goods produced in other regions that some tribes in Central Africa exchange their wares by so-called "silent trade", even when they are fighting bitterly. The hostile tribes bring what each can spare from its own produce and deposit this at a certain neutral spot. The enemies avoid meeting one another; but they approach the place in turn and each takes as many of the others' articles as he needs, leaving what he considers the right amount of his own wares in return. The economic law of demand and supply in fixing prices seems here to be settled without higgling and haggling. Silent trade indeed! What would those African tribes call trade as transacted in the exchanges of civilized cities?

When the Japanese first traded with Westerners it was with the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, in the south-western provinces. The barter was practically carried on in silence—the parties concerned having no common language or possessing no exact knowledge as to the degree of the demand or supply of the other party. There is little doubt that both were gainers, for the experience was continued.

After the seclusion laws were put in force, the only for-

eign merchants in Japan were a limited number of Chinese and Hollanders. Their commercial transactions were supervised by the Government. The Government was practically the negotiator. There was some bargaining, but by no means as much as would be expected in a market under the system of free competition. In those days the ratio of gold to silver in Japan was 1 : 4, while in Europe it was 1 : 16 or something like this—a disparity of which the foreign merchants took advantage and the amount of gold exchanged for silver and exported abroad was enormous. Some economists attribute to this fact the comparatively small amount of the precious metal in the country. It is no wonder that the Dutch factors in Hirado (near Nagasaki) found it a paying business to stay there under most oppressive and depressing conditions.

When the seclusion law was lifted, Yokohama, Kobe, Hakodate, Nagasaki and Niigata were made the first treaty-ports and thither resorted the merchants of all nations. On the Japanese side, large and respectable commercial houses were requested by the Government to deal with foreigners ; but they were too shy to venture on so totally unknown and hazardous a field. As to small merchants they had no comprehension of an activity of which they had never heard. The result was that only bold and unscrupulous plungers who dreamed of a sudden fortune by means fair or foul, flocked to the treaty ports. This was a most unfortunate circumstance and afforded cause for a long-continued mutual distrust between

Western and Japanese traders. The Westerners naturally judged the whole nation by the specimens with whom they came in actual contact, and the better class of Japanese looked upon foreigners with disdain, because they associated themselves with men in disrepute among the Japanese. In my lecture on feudalism I said that trade and industries were not highly respected. People engaged in them were considered mean and were judged by a code of morals different from that of the *samurai*. If he must be honest, he need not be strictly so. No high degree of veracity or honor was expected in commercial transactions. Any merchant was, therefore, good enough to be matched with foreign traders ; but when the most disreputable among the merchant class took prominent part in the dealing, foreign trade had naturally to suffer a moral set-back.

The Government, not at all pleased at this turn of affairs, called upon some of the *samurai* to give up their pride and turn merchants to save the honor of their country. Some indeed condescended to what they considered a lower status, but having had no experience in any mercantile pursuit, and least of all in negotiating with foreign traders, they made a fiasco of their undertaking. It was a common saying at the time that the *samurai* merchant and a lemonade bottle (pointed at the end) can never stand up.

II

However, trade itself has steadily prospered, increasing

both in value and volume. The total value of the foreign trade of Japan in 1868 was 25,000,000 yen, of which 15,000,000 was export and 10,000,000 was import. It doubled to 50,000,000 yen in ten years (1878), and in another decade (1888) it nearly quadrupled (96,000,000 yen). In 1898 it shot up to 443,000,000 yen, and in the following decade (1908) it reached the sum of 814,000,000 yen. Since 1911, it has never been below the billion mark, and in 1918, just half a century after trade statistics were first recorded, it increased to 3,630,000,000 or over 145-fold. In the last five or six years it has risen to over four billions, with the exception of 1930—when it went down for well known reasons to three billions.

If in a normal year 4,000,000,000 yen represent the total sum of foreign trade, the proportion of import and export will be roughly 2,100,000,000 and 1,900,000,000 respectively. Per capita of population the foreign trade will be 65 yen, of which 35 yen are imports and 30 yen exports. These figures are, of course, small compared with those of the United States, whose foreign trade has of late years been, in round numbers, 9,000,000,000 dollars, of which 4,000,000,000 dollars are imports and 5,000,000,000 dollars, exports. Unlike our country, you export more than you import, and the trade balance being thus always favorable, you get richer and richer, whereas the contrary is the case with us; for we are constantly sending out gold to settle the difference.

Of the countries from which we import, America

stands first. Normally, we buy from her, again in rough numbers, 650,000,000 yen worth of goods—chiefly cotton. In other words, one-third of all our imports come from the United States. The next greatest exporter to Japan is British India, which supplies us with raw cotton, but in amount it is far below America, being 270,000,000 yen. In the third rank comes China. Then follows Great Britain (150,000,000 yen), with her woolen goods and machinery, Germany (130,000,000 yen), with her chemicals, and Australia with its wool (130,000,000, yen).

Considering Japanese trade from the American side, it is not a negligible quantity. Indeed, Japan is the third largest buyer of American produce, being next to Great Britain and Canada. But the importance of the American-Japanese trade becomes more apparent when we consider the export of Japan. Again taking, by-and-large, that Japan's total export amounts to 1,900,000,000 yen, by far the largest portion of it—namely 840,000,000 yen—that is from 40 to 45 per cent. of our entire export, forms, pretty regularly, the American share. China is, or rather used to be, the next largest customer, but the amount of her purchase was never equal to half that of America.

Our foreign trade showed a sudden development during the World War, and the balance was favorable to us during those years, which it had rarely been previously. But a change came with the slump of 1920, and this was followed by the great earthquake of 1923. The economic

situation occasioned by this catastrophe was further aggravated by the financial disturbance of 1927; but, thanks to the sagacity of our business leaders, there was a general adjustment of trade.

There were several causes, however, which could not be overcome by the most sagacious of financiers. Of depression, I need not speak, as it is too well known and felt, and too little understood. Let us call it an "inscrutable act of God." But we know there have also been causes of human making which have lately disturbed the financial stability of our country—such as the removal of the gold embargo in 1930, the decline of prices, the erection of tariff walls in many countries, the decrease of American demand for our goods, internal disturbances in India, the boycott in China, the fall in the value of silver. These reasons combined to make our foreign trade of 1930 drop so suddenly by one-fourth,—from four to three billions. Even under these adverse circumstances, the proportion of our export to America led the rest. It formed 44 per cent. The main part of the decrease in the value of our trade was due, in 1930, to the fact that prices were lower, but the volume did not diminish as the figures might make us believe.

Of the merchandise that we buy from America, the most important is raw cotton (250,000,000 yen), then timber for building (175,000,000 yen), and iron (36,000,-000 yen); automobiles (30,000,000 yen), machinery (32,000,000 yen), wheat (15,000,000 yen) and kerosene

(14,000,000 yen). We get a large quantity of cotton from British India and some from Egypt; but, as I have indicated, America heads the list. Wood comes from Russia and Canada, but to nothing like the extent that it does from America. In 1924, the year after the earthquake, we had to buy about 130,000,000 yen worth of timber. Of this, over 100,000,000 yen came from the United States. I was once travelling in the interior of Japan, right in the heart of the forest region. The town I stopped at had been recently burned, and the hotel I went to was new—built of Oregon pine! I never was more struck by the force of the term “penetration”. The importation of lumber into that district seemed like bringing coal to Manchester; but there it was!

We shall now take a glance at the staple articles we sell to America. Foremost in the list stand raw silk (700,000,-000 yen) and silk tissues, then potteries (14,000,000 yen). Quite important are the comestibles that are sent in tins and bottles (11,000,000 yen). These are followed by tea (8,000,000 yen) and beans and peas (5,000,000 yen). Not to be despised is menthol crystal (2,000,000 yen) and vegetable fatty oils (2,500,000 yen). Camphor is an important item, too, (3,000,000 yen). Natural camphor is a monopoly of our country and of its whole export half goes to America. Worthy of mention are straw braids for hat-making (over 1,000,000 yen), as well as hats, caps and bonnets, which were exported to America in 1929 to the value of 7,200,000 yen. You buy from us

paper (1,000,000 yen), glass ware (4,000,000 yen), brushes (3,000,000 yen), lamps, *i.e.* electric bulbs (3,000,000 yen). We supply you with 4,000,000 yen worth of toys.

In the gross amount of America's foreign trade, it is not at all to be wondered at that England and Canada play the leading role. But is it not rather surprising that Japan occupies the third place? It is true that Germany is a good customer of yours and usually buys more than we do, so that we stand fourth among the buyers of American goods. France, also, sometimes buys more, but the margin is not large, neither does it always occur. As a rule, we stand fourth among the purchasers of the agricultural and industrial products of the United States.

I have thus far altogether neglected the invisible trade—both the assets (the invisible exports) we have abroad, and the liabilities (the invisible imports). I have not mentioned the balance of international payments—either the inward, *i.e.* credit movements (exports), or the outward, *i.e.* debit movements (imports). When these subjects are taken up we shall be more strongly confirmed than ever of the solid interest of this country in the economic stability of ours. The investment of American capital in Japan amounts to some 2,000,000,000 yen—this is four or five times the sum invested in China. Besides, America's outstanding loans in our country, governmental, municipal and corporation, total over 850,000,000 yen, while direct industrial investment stands at 120,000,000 yen. I have devoted an undue amount of time to numbers.

The Book of Numbers is not to many the most interesting one in the Bible ; but few books contain as many allegorical lessons as does this book. Think of the brass serpent that healed any one bitten by a fiery serpent,—or of the rod of Aaron that budded and blossomed and bore ripe almonds, or of the unusually intelligent and spiritualistic ass that could recognize an angel and speak Hebrew without accent. There are human interests in numbers, and whoever will study the numerals arrayed in trade reports will find how interdependent all nations are, and how far reaching is international commerce in all spheres of human activity.

Take, for instance, the simple fact of the enormous amount of artificial fertilizers that Japan imports—not much, to be sure, from America, but from Europe and Asia. For many years past we have been buying from abroad over 100,000,000 yen worth of fertilizers every year, chiefly oil cakes, sulphate of ammonia and phosphates. Together with other agricultural improvements, the fertilizers have enabled our farmers to increase their crops to an astonishing degree. In the fifty-odd years since 1878, the average yield of rice per acre has increased about 60 per cent. As to other kinds of grain, such as wheat, barley, rye, oats, the increase has been two-fold. We may well take for granted that mulberry leaves—the food of silk-worms—tea and vegetables of all kinds, were similarly benefited by fertilizers imported from abroad. It was said that whoever makes two blades of

grass grow where one grew before is the true benefactor of mankind, and bean-cakes have proved the greatest benefaction to us. We may say that these chemical fertilizers are brought to Japan on the wings of storks.

In the general elevation of the standard of living, too, we appreciate the benefits derived from international commerce. Take our clothing, for example. We have not yet been successful in raising sheep in our country. It may be because our climate is too moist or because the insect parasites are hard on the unhappy animal. We are obliged to import yearly 100,000,000 yen worth of wool from Australia and some from Argentina and Chile. Though about one-third of the imported wool is exported as tissues, the rest remains in the country to clothe our own people. No other fibre can take the place of wool in making army and navy uniforms. Experiments have been made with the hope of using silk for military uniforms, but it cannot bear irregularities of climate. I may add, in passing, that we can weave a textile from silk which makes durable and nice-looking clothes for respectable citizen's wear; but unfortunately moisture makes it shrink.

The far reaching human influence of foreign trade has been vividly illustrated by the lowering of the price of silk in the last year or two. The Wall Street panic in the autumn of 1929 had a summary effect upon our silk industry. The following spring the price of the cocoon dropped 54 per cent, while the volume went up only 4.5

per cent. The export of raw silk went down 18 per cent. in volume and 46 per cent. in price. Import to the United States fell by 100,000 bales, *i.e.* by one-fourth. The raw silk futures in Yokohama slipped from 1,180 yen per bale early in 1930 to 551 yen in October of the same year. The reclers and dealers passed a resolution not to sell below 1,100 yen ; but that did not matter as there was no market at such a price ! Now comes the news that American consumption of Japanese silk in August (1932) exceeds all figures in commercial history. The Yokohama price rises. Now farmers breathe more freely. Life looks brighter. All this, because in that month 57,702 bales of our silk were consumed in the United States. Rice, too, went down in price to one-half of its cost of production. Between these two disasters, the low price of silk and of rice, the sufferings of the rural population were indescribably great. They continue to be so, and I shall, in a subsequent lecture, explain how this condition of things brought about the series of assassinations of which you have no doubt read.¹

III

If I were to enumerate the direct and indirect effect of foreign trade upon our country, any idea of "going back to Asia" would look not only absurd but preposterous—indeed impossible. Moralists may declaim against ruinous alien ideas and customs—communistic propaganda,

¹ See footnote, p. 205, below.

dancing-halls, bars, cafés, cabarets, demoralizing movies, etc.—as inevitable accompaniments of foreign trade. It does not require a Puritan to bewail these facts. According to the statistical “law of large numbers,” the good and the bad, the long and the short, equalize and give a fair average for a net result, which we must accept as a reality, and if reality does not please us, it is by qualifying and improving it, but not by its negation, that we make the world a tolerable place to live in. If, however, by any chance we should obtain from abroad one thing desirable among the thousand things that are vain and of evil repute, are we not still the gainer? For, of things that are vain we have plenty at home,—they are easily invented, and we need not blame other countries. Evil should rarely be attributed to importation. Evil is original everywhere. If dance halls are of recent foreign introduction, we have had an institution which served worse purposes. If American movies are bad, we have also had bad pictures which did not “move” but were, nevertheless, equally bad. Japan, in the days of isolation was no paradise inhabited by angels. Usually evil is accompanied by its own antidote, and we must see to it that we introduce the knowledge of good when we decry the knowledge of evil. Among many rods that were brought to Moses there was one that budded. There were many venomous vipers, but also a brazen serpent with a healing power. Asses are proverbially stupid but there was one that could preach—in English or Japanese, if you please.

If moral evils are consequent upon material conditions trade will still be maintained ; but there is an aspect of foreign commerce that does give no small anxiety to the nations concerned. It is over-keen competition, which is growing worse in these latter days, giving rise to two policies—one, dumping, and the other, tariff. These two policies proceed from the same motive, namely, that of protecting native industries. The pious resolutions of the Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927 for tariff holidays, have evidently fallen on deaf ears. Though the chief reason for our tariff is financial rather than economic, it is also true that it aims at the protection and artificial growth of native industries. The idea is to bring down the value of her imports to that of her exports, or else the constant drain of gold upon the country will jeopardize the general stability of the nation. Fortunately, there is no fundamental conflict between America and Japan in the principal items of our trade. King Cotton, which is America's chief export to Japan, can, in its native majesty, enter Japan free of duty. Similarly, raw silk, Queen of Japan's foreign trade, has free admission to America.

To a layman like myself—and may I count upon most of you as my fellow-laymen ?—the book of numbers I have opened, contains not only stories but some solid moral lessons—the first of which is that our two countries are so closely knit by economic and financial ties that any doctrine, particularly of an empty theoretical nature,

should not disturb this relationship. I, myself, if I be allowed to say so, am inclined to be theoretical. I am greatly tempted to leave the solid ground. Realities are too ugly for me. But if I am philosophical I should realize ideal in the midst of ugly realities. It is said that Thales could have studied the stars by looking down upon their reflection on the water. Instead, he was looking above too intently and fell into the ditch. On account of Mr. Stimson's legalistic notes and speeches, American-Japanese relations sometimes seem very much perturbed. On the other side of the Pacific some irresponsible politicians and self-styled patriots are spitting fire against the undue interference of America in the Far East and against the Exclusion Act. They are the misguided disciples of Thales, with their eyes fixed in empty space! If they condescend to look at the trade table or at the argosies that ply back and forth on the Pacific Ocean, they will find that the ties of trade are too strong for an occasional misspelling in diplomatic correspondence. Surely, no nation would shoot its best customer!

Secondly; do we not also read in the numbers I have given, that the trade in the Pacific shows a decided tendency to increase? China is sure to awaken and her millions must have more food and clothing. Japan's standard of living must rise, too. With her occidentalization she will demand more American-made articles. American demand for silk is destined to increase. Silk is something that you cannot very well raise with machinery. Our

people, as I explained in the first lecture, have a deft hand well adapted for the rearing of "*O-Kaiko Sama*"—the honorable foster-child, the tiny silk-worm. There is, sure enough, the formidable competition of rayon : but, as in everything else, man is not satisfied with artificial products. One makes distinction even in the case of Japanese pearls, which are not artificial, but natural as life itself is natural, and cannot be made by man. The culture pearl is cultivated and not made. It is as natural as a rose or a potato which is grown by cultivation. There is as yet no test that can distinguish culture pearls from other natural pearls. And yet one likes to think—and one is ready to pay a higher price for this fancy,—that somehow a pearl grown in a wild state is superior. So will it be with silk—the more so, when in this case, unlike that of the pearl, one can easily see the distinction in the appearance and quality of silk and of rayon. Therefore, I have no doubt that as wealth increases in America, more silk will come into her market. In the decade following the World War, American trade with China has doubled and with Japan trebled. It is said that California's trade with the Orient has increased proportionately, *i.e.* 300 per cent. since the War. Mr. Wallace M. Alexander, one of the most prominent citizens of your state, in an address delivered before the 19th Convention of the National Foreign Trade Council at Honolulu last May, called our attention to the fact that, as in many other respects, so in trade, the center of the world's activity is shifting to the

Pacific basin. Imports from Europe into the United States in 1928-29 showed an increase of 169 per cent. over imports for 1910-11. Exports from the United States to Europe, during the same period, increased 563 per cent., and exports to Asia, but chiefly to Japan from the United States, increased 806 per cent. In this tremendous volume of commerce, we supplied you mostly with articles of luxury and comfort, and you supplied us with the necessities of our industry. Our mutual needs have been satisfied and we see no immediate probability of our mutual needs diminishing. You must have noticed that the staple articles of our export to your country are for the satisfaction of women's wants—silk, dolls, comestibles, potteries of different sorts—and if women's wants are really as unlimited as they are reputed to be—why, the prospect of our trade is infinite !

Trade has a function to perform important beyond the dreams of economists. And from this detached point the exchange of materials is a trifling affair. The so-called invisible trade is material enough. For the highest function of trade is the exchange of imponderables—of ideas and sentiments.

A striking example is furnished by Japan in the earliest years of her new era. When America sent Perry and Townsend Harris, the main object was trade. But to Japan the first reaction of the opening of the country was spiritual, as is so well illustrated by the sudden change of front in the policy of the Government. You will under-

stand my meaning clearly if I explain what I shall call the "Magna Charta of New Japan", which is the topic of my next lecture.

X. 13. 1932.

CHAPTER VI

MAGNA CHARTA OF JAPAN¹

When we last met here I spoke of the trade relations of Japan, with special reference to the United States, and I closed by saying that the first reaction of Japan to international trade was more spiritual than material. You may think that the Japanese are a contrary people; but this reaction is perfectly reasonable when you remember how, under the long period of isolation and feudalism, they were brought up to be self-conscious, as it were. They were trained to think of everything relating to foreigners in terms of the national safety and welfare. I had a call from an English lady one day who had just arrived in Tokyo after a trip in the Inland Sea. She told me what impressed her most during the voyage was the national consciousness and patriotism of the people—this quite as much as the beauty of the landscape. On board the ship a young student followed her about, and, guessing that what he wanted to do was to try his English on her, she said “Good morning!”—to which he responded smilingly. Then she pointed to a mountain and said “Beautiful!” The young man bowed and said “Thank you!”

¹ An address entitled *Some Basic Principles of Japanese Politics*, which was delivered before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in the summer of 1932, had substantially the same content.

Then later, for want of a conversational topic, she pointed to a gnarled pine-tree on the shore and said "Interesting!" The youth replied most politely "Thank you!" To the Japanese, everything that exists in the country is his own. Any compliment paid to any object in the land is a compliment to him. Any danger that threatens the country is a menace to his life and property. I wish to refer here to my first lecture, where the same subject is mentioned.

Such being the case, when the country was opened for foreign trade, the first consideration was not so much commercial profit as the safety and honor of the nation. Once convinced of the superiority of the West in matters of material civilization, the leaders of thought set themselves to work out a scheme of material civilization, and, to accomplish this end, a radical change was conceived in the fundamental principles of government.

The enunciation of these basic principles of what I would call the Magna Charta of new Japan, will be my subject today, and I shall try to show, (1) the social and political background which gave rise to it; (2) what it is and what it implies; (3) how it has been put into practice, and what its future significance is.

I

The anti-foreign isolation policy was tried and found wanting. During the three hundred years of peace, if no great political philosophy had occasion to develop, it was

brewing in unexpected quarters. Some radical ideas had filtered into the country through the Dutch. Faint rumors of the French and American Revolutions had reached the more alert ears. When the treaty was signed with America in 1854, books found their way to the very few who could read them, and with them came liberal ideas, such as the rights and equality of man, the representation of the third estate, etc. Our people, with that perceptive power of which I spoke in my first lecture, saw at once what these liberal ideas meant and implied. Fortunately, the samurai, whose original profession was arms, had, during the long peace, been educating themselves in the peaceful administration of public affairs and they were the ones who could lead the nation in the new path. Of the technique of trade and commerce they knew nothing except its fiscal side. It was they who brought about the Restoration, which meant the return of political authority by the Shogun to the Emperor.

With this general background painted for the stage, it will be easy to understand the dramatic scene which took place on the sixth of April, 1868, when the young ruler, who had ascended the throne a few months earlier, summoned his chief councillors to a room of state in the palace at Kyoto, and before the family shrine, as in the presence of his ancestors, swore that he would make the following principles the basis of the government. These were henceforth known as the Five Articles of the Charter Oath (*Goseimon*).

1. Widely to hold assemblies in order to decide all measures by public opinion.
2. To unite the high and the low in order to develop economic policies.
3. To enable every one in all classes and professions, military or civil, down to the lowest ranks of people, to reach his aim, and to give him no cause for discontent.
4. To do away with mean usages and to follow the just ways of Heaven and Earth.
5. To seek knowledge throughout the world and uplift the foundations of the Empire.

The Charter Oath, with these simple but pregnant words, opened a new era for Japan, filling a position similar to that occupied by the Magna Charta in England or the Declaration of Independence in America. There had on various occasions been declarations of polity from the Throne. There had been prayers offered to the gods in times of emergency. But these five articles bore a unique character, and were a covenant formed with gods, a promise, albeit one-sided on the part of the ruler, for his subjects. For this reason they mark an epoch as a transition from the old to the new régime, from the mediæval to the modern. They also mark a break for Japan with the political doctrines and traditions of the ancient East, and her alignment with those of the modern West.

This sudden change of front in the national policy of Japan is expressed by the term *Ishin*, renewal or renaiss-

tain the *status quo*, and if any change was needed, it should be to go several steps backward, even to the dawn of history, and make national isolation tighter than ever. The former dreamt of an ideal society such as tickled the imagination of a Moti or a Rousseau, and would merge their country into the West, giving up native custom, native food and native language ! The more practical minds rested in the Golden Mean.

The Five Articles of Charter Oath set the standard for selection. By the First Article did the Emperor adopt the broad principle of democracy [constitutional government] in stating that all measures should be decided in accordance with public opinion. In the Second, he enunciated the principle of social unity and national solidarity. The Third was the announcement of equality, allowing each person to exercise full liberty in the pursuit of happiness and the choice of vocation. The Fourth contains what appears like an axiom, the existence of universal laws, but it is of deep practical consequence, inasmuch as it involves the abolition of customs dissonant with the usage of the world. In fact, by this Fourth Article, old isolation was done away with, and Japan ushered into the family of nations. Lastly, not content with this, the Fifth Article enjoins the people to seek knowledge throughout the world, for the upbuilding of the nation.

Thus did Japan usher in a new epoch of her history with all the doctrines that characterize the modern era. But nations, like individuals, can start with the best of inten-

tions and with the noblest principles, inscribed in gold on vellum and thrice sworn, but may never translate them into action. We have to thank the knightly code of samurai leaders ; for if glory or greed had been their guide, the country would have been harassed by endless strife.

New Japan did not proclaim a novel form of government. She did not even pretend to be a constitutional monarchy until she was ready to deserve the name. When she dropped the curtain of seclusion, she appeared simply as an old-fashioned absolute monarchy of oriental type. She was too realistic to appear as anything else. And when her ruler, a mere youth, announced the new principles of his government, and told his ministers to carry them out, he meant that the *Ishin*, the Renewal, should not remain a mere plan on paper, but that they should be acted upon in conformity with actual needs and existing conditions. The *Ishin* turned out to be an actual fact, and the principles laid down in the Five Articles showed results, beyond the expectation of those who undertook to carry them out.

In speaking of the success achieved by the *Ishin*, it must not be thought that all the principles embodied in the Charter Oath have been completely realized. Far from it ! The mission of the *Ishin* is not yet ended. It is still going on, and will continue to go on. At one time historians debated what period, reckoned by calendar, should be comprised under that name. Some advocated

its termination with the first meeting of the Diet ; others said it lasted until the promulgation of the Constitution. A controversy of this kind belongs to the same interesting but unfruitful category of questions as the exact date of the beginning of the Modern Age—whether it should date with the discovery of America, or the Protestant Reformation, or the Puritan Revolution, or the invention of printing, or the French Revolution, or other events of importance. The *Ishin*, not being a material event occurring at a definite time and space, but rather a scheme of a new state and society, cannot be circumscribed by a number of calendar years. It is a movement, ever renewing itself. It will terminate when its main purposes are performed.

II

Before we engage ourselves with the query as to the extent to which the general aims of the Oath were carried out, we may take one by one—not necessarily in the order given—the five Articles which compose it, and examine their meaning ; for they are not always clear, and to Westerners they must sound not much better than ambiguous brocards.

The very fact that the Articles were proclaimed under a religious oath and were couched in abstract and cryptic phraseology lends them an air of sanctity. It claims to be on one hand a Covenant with the gods and on the other hand a pledge with the people.

It requires no elaborate demonstration to prove that all the different objects aimed at in these separate Articles are so intricately and innately connected with one another, that the realization of one becomes at once the cause and the effect of another.

Whatever attainment was possible in the furtherance of democratic idea indicated in the First Article was made so by the diffusion of education, which was the theme of the Fifth Article. The two were inseparable.

✓ In the Second Article of the Oath are stressed national solidarity and social unity which require of individuals some measure of sacrifice. Closely allied in principle to unity and solidarity is the Third Article, which clearly shows the spirit of liberalism by stating that all classes and callings, military or civil, should alike be given equal opportunity to enjoy liberty and pursue happiness.

The principles stated in four of the Articles I have been discussing as so closely interrelated, are concerned with the internal life of the state, little being said of its external relations. This is given in the Fourth Article, whose wording is almost vague. I have noticed that in several books written in English, the following translation is used :—"All the absurd usages of former times would be disregarded, and impartiality and justice displayed : the working of nature be adopted as the basis of action". This longer translation may serve as a commentary to my brief but more exact metaphrastic rendering.

As this Article was the principle by which the foreign

relations of the Enlightened Reign (Meiji) were guided, allow me to elucidate it in detail.

What was meant by the "absurd" or "mean" usages of the past? They may include anything which are so deemed by the pioneers of Renewal. We think naturally of some social customs and manners—women blackening their teeth, men conforming to the ancient style of tonsure (not the wearing of queues), religious festivals that had lost their original meanings, social festivities that had sunk into debauchery and many other evident abuses and corruptions. These may well be included; but in the eyes of statesmen, they were trifles which could be left to the enterprise of social reformers. There were political usages which were here called mean and absurd. There were international abuses in which the state and the Court had indulged in former times. The national isolation was a mean measure. The exclusion of foreigners and the treatment of the few resident aliens (Chinese and Dutch) were also absurd. A sidelight will make this point clear. There were two terms used in those days in opposing the opening of the country to foreign trade—*sakoku*, shutting up the country, and *jō-i*, expelling foreign barbarians. These were the slogans adopted by the Imperialist Party as against the Shogunal. But by the time that Party got into power to make good the slogans, it was converted to the idea of opening the country. It could not take back at once the slogans it had been upholding. This "about face" had to be made gracefully.

Under these circumstances what more catching maxim could be devised than the abolition of absurd usages—a term all-embracing in its meaning ! So, within a few days after the Oath was proclaimed, the young Emperor personally received foreign envoys in state, thus setting the example of doing away with the old and absurd procedure in the treatment of foreigners.

The same Article did not stop with the sentence. There was another—"and follow the just ways of heaven and earth," which may be easily translated "obey the universal law." Upon this simple sentence hangs an important tale.

When Townsend Harris came to Japan as America's first Consul-General and Minister, he had to cultivate an entirely new field of diplomacy. He had to teach the A.B.C. of international law. To the Japanese officials, to whom foreign intercourse on terms of equality was unheard of, the very name "International Law" was unknown. They had believed each nation was absolutely sovereign and not subject to any common rule or law ; but Harris told them there were laws that were binding on nations in war as well as in peace. The Japanese officials wondered who could have been so powerful as to dictate laws for nations to obey. When to this question he replied that Hugo Grotius wrote them, the reverence for the Dutchman knew no bounds. They had heard of Confucius as the founder of Chinese ethics and of Sakyamuni as the founder of Buddhism—but of Hugo Grotius'

Law for nations to follow they had never before heard. There was no native name for such a system of laws or doctrines. If these were of general application throughout the world, they must be a universal way.

Townsend Harris immediately sent for a Chinese translation of Wheaton's *Treatise on International Law*, which bears the Chinese title *Wankuo-Kungfa* or *Bankoku-Koho* in Japanese pronunciation, "The Just (or Public) Law of All (literally, Ten Thousand) Nations." The treatise was indeed a revelation to the people, who had entertained no dealings with other countries. The idea of laws that bind sovereigns seemed at first preposterous! But there they were, written down in black and white. Within a few years, edition after edition of the Japanese versions of the Chinese translation were published and as greedily devoured.

The framers of the Charter Oath were under the spell of Dr. Wheaton's treatise. They wished to convey the instruction that their country could not escape observing the laws that are binding on all nations. In putting this idea into the Oath, the framers, as was their wont in other articles, resorted to the use of words of wider connotation. Instead of using the term *Koho*, or Public Law, they preferred *Ko-do*, the Just Way, for the Way and the Law were often used interchangeably, both being considered fixed and immovable. Instead of the term *Ban Kokuu*, literally Ten Thousand Nations, itself a hyperbole, was used again a word of broader meaning, *Ten-chi*,

Heaven and Earth, which is almost synonymous with Universal, General, World-wide, International.

According to this exegesis, which I hope I have not strained beyond the bounds of truth, the injunction to obey "the just ways of heaven and earth" was tantamount in practical politics to the observance of international law, written and unwritten.

Before proceeding to the next question, may I recapitulate the contents of the Five Articles of Oath, which by this time may strike the reader as a collection of politico-moral maxims. They are: 1. Democracy [Enlightened government], 2. Unity and Solidarity, 3. Equality and Liberty, 4. International Amity, 5. Education and Nationality.

III

We shall now proceed to examine how near to these ideals we have approached in their practical application. I have intimated before that we have gone a long way. The much praised transformation of New Japan began with the consciousness of her shortcomings, and if another *Ishin* is to take place, as some believe is necessary, fresh account must be taken of the shortcomings that have stolen into her political and social systems since the *Ishin* of Meiji.

Hence, before one speaks of the next *Ishin*, it will profit us to examine in what respects our fathers have failed in living up to the mark that was set before them. If we

should find that they have not brought to fruition all the items of the great contract, this shows that the *Ishin* is not yet ended. The Charter Oath is the measuring-rod of our political capacity and achievement. The abstract terminology of the instrument makes its connotations and denotations capable of infinite expansion.

The Oath is as fresh today as it was three score and four years ago. Judged by the standard set by it, can the present generation of the Japanese people say with a clean conscience that they have been true in every respect to its requirements?

(1) Have we decided all measures by public opinion in assemblies? The assemblies, such as we have, do they really represent public opinion? Public opinion, such as we have,—how far is it spontaneous and enlightened? Is speech entirely free or are mouths gagged for no good reason? Are the assemblies conducted in good order, or are they like a menagerie with wild beasts shrieking? Is not public opinion poisoned by bribery and blackmailing? Democracy is not the domination of the crowd nor of the majority, but of the whole, and we have not traveled very far.

(2) Has the nation shown unity and solidarity in matters of economic reconstruction? We always unite when our honor or our interests are threatened from outside. The progressives and the reactionaries are one when they are confronted by a foreign menace. Such a sense of solidarity is an invulnerable bulwark for a small and

proud nation with gigantic nations in the immediate neighborhood. Whenever the country's security and existence are endangered, the whole nation will rise as one man. At the least rumor of an economic blockade by another Power, a few months ago, men at opposite poles of thought showed readiness to unite. We are more patriotic than matriotic. But such unity is disastrously lacking in times of peace. Differences of opinion are healthy signs of democracy and they are courted in all free countries, but when partisan spirit splits the nation on the vital issues of national life, we must hide our face in very shame before the Charter Oath.

(3) We had naïvely believed that equality was assured by the Third Article, and that all social classes were given chance to test their mettle under equal conditions. When, therefore, the order of nobility was created, some people looked upon it as a deed of defeasance. And while we proudly and gladly admit that equality and liberty were greatly advanced by this particular Article, we cannot deny that we have most sadly fallen short of its spirit in those social spheres where it is most needed. The legal equality granted to the outcasts is still largely nominal. Gross injustice is still done to this class. The laboring population, educated as they are, are still debarred from forming unions.

(4) Are we free of old abuses? Have we exterminated all mean usages and absurd customs? The ghosts of the dead haunt all places in all countries, and no people,

Eastern or Western, has yet done with inherited prejudices, particularly when these concern intercourse with foreigners. Japan is no exception, though the progress she has made in this regard is surprisingly great, and her rulers have systematically cultivated the spirit of international friendship. The artificial cultivation of anti-foreign sentiments is, fortunately, a thing unheard of in our country. But when it is asked with what ardor we have entered the League of Nations, or with what enthusiasm we have joined with other peoples in international co-operation, we shall have to admit that we have not shown sufficient enthusiasm or ardor in following "the just laws of heaven and earth." In some quarters there has been a rumor afloat that Japan may retire from the League of Nations. I believe it is only a rumor. If she does, her action will amount to receding to the days of isolation, to the days of the discarded old usages.

(5) And lastly, as far as seeking knowledge throughout the world is concerned, we have lived up pretty closely to the letter and spirit of the injunction. There is no branch of knowledge for which we are not indebted to the West. There is no country which we have not ransacked for knowledge. The knowledge we have obtained has been lavishly spread among the people. Through schools and the press the nation has been most extensively educated. Nevertheless, we have by no means exhausted the sources of knowledge, and the West has abundance to give.

Through our increasing knowledge of the West, we shall better understand and appreciate its spirit, and the sympathy thus fostered will weaken what fear, suspicion, and prejudice we may have entertained. That was the way we once admired and learned from China. This right understanding will be a great step toward international good-will and co-operation. As world co-operation gains in strength, peace among nations will prevail. Japan then will be the better able to devote her energies and resources to the enhancement of economic welfare and internal improvement of every kind. Problems of diplomacy, of democracy, of constitutional government, of financial improvement, of social justice, of national unity on a higher level—indeed, all the problems which the Five Articles of Oath have given rise to, can at present, after sixty-four years of their promulgation, find satisfactory solution only in harmony with the rest of the world. What were presented two generations ago to the thirty millions of the Japanese people by an absolute monarch are becoming the canons of liberalism, showing that a monarchy can be as liberal as any other form of government. What we considered as peculiar to our own country and confined to our islands, seems thus to be a part of the world movements, and our Charter Oath, which we have cherished as peculiarly our own and no one else's heritage, may one day prove to be an integral part of the world's history and world organism. Our people may be able to contribute something to the general

welfare of mankind by a more conscientious observance of the principles laid down in the Magna Charta of Japan.

In the course of the present lecture, you may have noticed my repeated reference to the part taken by the samurai in the initiation and organization of the new régime. It was they who translated into action the five articles of the Charter Oath. Without their decision and action this would have remained a mere state decoration. Why they were so conspicuous in the regeneration of the country will be unintelligible unless you know what training and discipline they had—and I shall try to give a picture of the moral ideas of Old Japan in the next lecture.

X. 15. 1932.

CHAPTER VII

MORAL IDEAS OF OLD JAPAN

Some months ago when I was asked to give the subjects for my lectures, I chose for one of them, "Moral Ideas of Old Japan." I thought I knew enough of the subject, but in preparing for it I found no small difficulty in fixing upon the date which should apply to "Old Japan." Japan of ten centuries ago is old ; Japan of ten decades ago is also old ; but between these two "Old Japans" there is much difference in moral ideas. Indeed it is not only in America that "Only Yesterday" means a decade or two ago. I must beg of the audience the same indulgence which Cicero showed to an elderly Roman lady. She sat beside him at table and spoke of being thirty years old. Later, when his friends told him that she must be much older, he said—"We must believe her, for she has been repeating that in the last twenty years." I wish you would grant "Old Japan" a wide latitude of years and think of it as covering a period of sixty to six hundred years.

The basic principles of Japanese politics as embodied in the Five Articles of the Charter Oath, which I called the Magna Charta of New Japan, were the subject of my last lecture, and I closed it with the observation that the best of principles would not have been translated into action

unless there had been an apt agency to put them into effect, and that such an agency in our country was found in the order of the samurai.

I have so often heard it repeated that a new work must be wrought by new men, and that old heads lack the initiative and dispatch, or, as Bacon says in one of his essays, "Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period but content themselves with a mediocrity of success." All these defects of the old are true. I am old enough to testify to their truth by my own personal experience. We know revolutions are almost always the work of young men,—young men who are not hampered by reverence for tradition and who have no scruple in tearing down the roof under which they work. In their iconoclastic enthusiasm they even hack to pieces works of art. In our *Ishin*, the active men were young men, still in their twenties, the oldest were just over forty.

It must strike an historian as strange that these young men, eager as they were for change, looked to the oldest traditions of their fatherland, rather than to new doctrines, for their inspiration. They wanted *fukko*, return to the old régime. They cast their gaze upon the past for the model of the Golden Age. This oriental frame of mind saved Japan from going into the extremes of the French Revolution or of the Soviet upheaval. It is not perhaps quite right to call it oriental, for the Romans, most

practical warriors and administrators of the ancient world, usually followed the manner of their ancestors, *mores majorum*, for their guiding principles.

Young as they were, the advocates of *Ishin* never freed themselves from ancient ties. The ghosts of the fathers held captive their conscience. Custom was still "the principal magistrate of man's life", to borrow a quaint expression of Lord Bacon. This "wisest," if also "meanest of men," does say sensible things. Here are some sayings pertinent to our subject :—

" If the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater ; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth ; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined."

I have borrowed these words of Bacon to lay stress upon the fact that it was the old ruling moral ideas, formed in a society well ordered and disciplined, and particularly those of the samurai class, which supplied the motive power of the *Ishin* period. I wish, therefore, to discuss with you to-day sources of our moral ideas, and, in doing so, I shall speak of (1) some original moral notions of the Japanese race ; (2) the moral teachings that came from China ; and (3) philosophic doctrines derived from Buddhism.

The first of these factors may be roughly called natural, intuitional; the second, institutional, Confucian; and the third, philosophical, Buddhistic.

I

In my first lecture I made brief mention of a few of the mental characteristics of our race, particularly on their emotional side. As a preliminary remark I spoke of the keen power of perception. I am glad that this *a priori* observation of mine finds corroboration in Professor Darsie's elaborate study on the "Mental Capacity of American-Born Japanese Children". The conclusions he has drawn from the mental tests made on seven hundred Japanese children in California are that "the Japanese are inferior to Americans in processes involving memory and abstract thinking on verbal symbols (remember the tests were on children born in America, but of Japanese parentage); that the Japanese are equal or slightly superior to Americans in processes based on concrete, visually (please mark the term) presented situations; finally, Japanese are superior (I don't like the term but I am only quoting) to Americans in processes involving acuity of visual (*i.e.* in contrast to verbal) perception and recall, and in tenacity of attention." I wish to state that I am not as yet an absolute convert to mental tests, whether it be of the Binet or Pintner-Paterson scale. To put it more correctly and modestly, I don't know enough about it to believe that intelligence can be so accurately measured

in numerals and decimals. But certainly Professor Darsie's studies confirm the view that, in perception at least, the Japanese are acute, especially in things that can be detected by vision. I have heard it said that when our picture of a fish jumping out of water was first shown to Westerners they all laughed at it as unnatural and unscientific ; but when instantaneous photography came into vogue, it was found that the Japanese artists were right. Acuity of perception is best represented by the visual faculty, but it is not confined to the eyesight. An American friend of mine, residing in Japan for forty years, remarked that the construction of Japanese eyes may be a little different, for they see things which she does not, in spite of the fact that she is herself an artist and possesses unusually keen sight—both insight and outsight.

It is this perceptive acuity that serves a good purpose in matters of importance, private or public. We sense the good and the bad, the true and the false. Naturally, we commit the mistakes that modern Pan-objectivists make in identifying the percept with the things perceived. Our judgement does not always keep pace with perception. But by and large, guided by the perceptive faculty, Japan has been successful in most of her undertakings.

The imitative faculty which she has shown on so many occasions is not unusually a direct result of perceiving something that is superior and attempting to adopt it. Even in the sphere of moral actions we are quick to discern the true and the false, to distinguish the genuine from

the spurious.

It seems to me that, largely due to the acuity of perception, the race tends to realism. The popular proverbs—"Proof rather than argument," or "Seeing once excels hearing a thousand times,"—bespeaks a matter-of-fact mentality. Professor Darsie makes another interesting observation, namely, that the Japanese children born here—and I am sure that his observation applies with equal weight to children born in Japan—are inferior to American children in processes involving memory and abstract reasoning based on verbal symbols. Some may attribute this fact to the test being made in a country where the English language is used. I think this will be found in Japan itself. We know that we are as a race the poorest linguists in the East. If I may venture an opinion, not at all founded on scientific data, our race is decidedly far more eye-minded than ear-minded. And this makes us more realistic than idealistic; for, is it not true that realism is founded in the main on the things we see and idealism on the things we hear? An old Chinese adage reads "We value the things of the ear more than the things of the eye." This was said as a warning not to put undue value on the past, which we cannot see and of which we only hear—as a warning, too, against neglecting the present which we see with our own eyes. The ear-mindedness leads us to idealism and theory, and hence to what Irving called logocracy, government by the power of words, and this is exactly what realists

despise and avoid. We are in hearty sympathy with the men from Missouri.

Together with the realistic temper of our people is their extrovert tendency. In spite of the teachings inculcated by religions, which encourage the habit of inward searching, the Japanese people have always been more active than thoughtful, more practical than theoretical. Ever ready to act, they do not instinctively seek repose in contemplation. I believe the reason why contemplative doctrines have been strongly emphasized among us is that there is the danger of rushing into activity before sufficient thought has been given. Contemplation and meditation have been a means of inhibiting hasty, purposeless action.

Let us, then, keep the two points in mind, the acuity of perception and the tendency to extroversion, in understanding the temper of the Japanese. At first sight this may seem inconsistent with the statement I made in the first lecture, namely, that there is an inherent strain of melancholy in them—as indicated in their peculiarly moody sentiments implied in such words as *nasaké* or *invaré*. I see no inconsistency between these sentiments and extroversion. I remarked that these sentiments are closely allied with the perception of the emptiness of life as one sees it in nature; and the Japanese are above all “Naturfolk”. They are close to Mother-Earth, sensitive to the hum of insects and moved by the breeze sighing among the pine trees. They know that the sensations

which are the units of conscious life, evanescent pleasures, transient beauty, fleeting phenomena, all leave no permanent trace behind. Under the spell of such sensations the introvert turns his mind upon his own problems; he dives deep into his heart with its sorrows and joys, trying to bring these into the conscious light of day. But the extrovert takes flight into action, for fear of sinking into a slough of despond. This psychological working is well exhibited in Japanese laughter. I wish to refer my hearers to a delightful essay on that subject by Lafcadio Hearn. The Japanese laugh or smile on the most unexpected occasions. Not infrequently does your Japanese friend inform you smilingly of his father's illness or of his child's death. The smile is at once a repression of his aching heart. As laughter is symbolic of cheer, he suppresses his sorrow by the symbol, thereby dispelling a painful experience from consciousness. This is a very common habit of the Japanese and has almost become a racial trait. Hence if he is overwhelmed with *awaré*, pity, he does not shed a tear but looks unmoved and indifferent and helps the sufferer when none can see him. If he wishes to express his real feeling, he speaks of a little flower trodden underfoot or scattered by the wind. When *nasaké*, compassion, grips his heart, he rarely expresses sympathy in more than a word or two and more often accosts his friend with a joke. When a sense of gratitude enters his soul, he speaks but briefly, and behind his benefactor's back bows his head and bends his knee.

Don't you find in this system, if you can call it a system, an attempt at emotional equilibrium? A "Naturfolk" learns by intimate contact with nature that there is a healing power in the flower and the grass, in the mountains and streams, in the rain and clouds. He comes to see gods working in these phenomena, and if they are of divine origin, do they not contain godly qualities? Why seek afar for the Divine? It is even in the objects around you. They are good and just. Why seek elsewhere for justice and goodness? So, to live a natural life is to be just and good. There is no evil in nature. What seems to be evil is the tipping of the balance scale. Evil is immoderation. All natural appetites are good and they become evil only when indulged into excess. This is Shinto, the Way of the Gods, naïve primitive teaching aboriginal to the soil of Japan.

I shall have more than one occasion to dilate upon this theme. Now let me hasten to the influence of Chinese ideas on our naïve and primitive instinct.

II

I have already in my second lecture dwelt on the great debt we owe to China in every phase of our national progress. This debt can be compared to that of the Northern Barbarians to Roman culture. In the moral field, too, this comparison will hold. Tacitus has drawn for us a picture of the primitive social life of the German race. It is in many ways a beautiful picture of simplicity,

straightforwardness, naturalness. Their adoption of Christianity and of Latin civilization is in a sense a story of articulation and rationalization. They received no new soul. They only learned to express their soul-life. One may say they remained "heathen" for centuries after they were baptized. I am, of course, speaking of the race as a whole and not of a few individuals who attained sainthood.

With us, much the same process has gone on for fifteen centuries under the tutelage of Chinese preceptors. They furnished us with an extensive vocabulary that enabled us to articulate our feelings and many new terms introduced among us conveyed ideas thitherto unknown to us. When we learn that there are no less than 40,000 characters in the standard Chinese dictionary, *Kang-hsi*, compiled early in the 18th century, even if we make allowance for some characters that are synonyms, we see to what extent Chinese ideology has developed. We cannot, however, deduce from this that these 40,000 ideograms were in common use. It is estimated that one-tenth, or 4,000, are in common use, 2,000 are proper names and doubles of limited use, and three or four thousand are verbal monstrosities of no practical value. In the domain of the ethical ideology of the Chinese the loyalties that we owe in different relations of life had each a separate term. The love we owe to father and son, to wife or sister had each a distinct designation, and under each of them separate duties were assigned in definite proportions and limita-

tions.

Confucian ethics, however, had its basis in the natural instinct of filial love. From it grew the rest of the moral precepts. A recent writer (Mr. Briffault, in *Mothers*) has shown from examples of animals and primitive human societies that all tender emotions and virtues have proceeded from maternal instinct, and we may connect his theory with the Confucian doctrine of the origin of all virtues as proceeding from filial devotion and the natural response of the infant to maternal affection.

On reaching Japan, Confucian precepts had to undergo some modification. This great sage was a practical man and at heart a pragmatist in his moral theory. He is even considered by some critics as an opportunist. Whatever he was personally, his teaching did not always suit our case. Loyalty (*Chung*) to a sovereign had to change in Japan, where the ruling house has never changed, from the conception in China, where the ruling dynasties have changed from time to time—no less than twenty having occupied the imperial throne since the Christian era, 300 years being considered the longest period for the ascendancy of any one dynasty.

Then, there is a remarkable difference in the psychological character of the two peoples. I can make the difference clear by borrowing a few psychological terms. The mentality of the Chinese is prone to resort to "projection". They have the mental habit of shifting blame upon others or upon the conditions of life to relieve

themselves of responsibility and attribute their failure to some causes or agents outside of themselves. We all have this habit, but in China it has been sanctioned by the highest authority. The philosophy of face-saving lies in this habit of thought. Confucius taught this method of thinking in his *Chin-chiu*, (Spring and Autumn Annals), in which he shifts the responsibility of one historical character to the shoulders of another, sometimes by what looks like casuistry.

As opposed to this Chinese tendency of "projection", our great weakness lies in "identification"—a process of reasoning by which we identify ourselves with people or institutions which stand in our estimate as ideal. Having borrowed much from China, we are willing to belong to the same race culturally. In all the good things that are Chinese we say we have an integral part, and are willing to go back to Asia. But if China suffers from any weakness, we would have no part in this, even if it be common to both races. I envy the Americans in this matter of identification. From the mistakes the British make, you are free, because the mistakes are very English, but in the great achievements of the same race, you claim a part because you are Anglo-Saxon. If projection blinds one's eyes to one's own shortcomings, or, if one realizes these, induces him to lay the blame upon others, identification opens one's eyes to the excellent qualities of others and makes him believe he, too, has them even if he has not. They are both cases of self-

deception. Those who indulge in either get self-righteous. But the two work out differently. The projectionist is critical and blames others, and a projectionist nation becomes xenophobic, anti-foreign. The identificationist is imitative, admires even the faults of others, and an identificationist nation is xenomaniac, inordinately fond of things foreign.

This difference in the mental characteristics of the two nations will explain why, so good and faithful an American friend of China as Dr. Martin, did not hesitate to say that the Chinese are fundamentally anti-foreign, while the Japanese have always been adopting the ideas of other peoples and grafting them on their own. Therefore, Japanese have gone pretty far, and pretty thoroughly but never at the sacrifice of their own innate notions and desires. The same holds good of the teachings of Buddhism.

III

When Buddhism was first introduced into Japan there was objection to its adoption. I have already spoken of that in a former lecture. It introduced some divinities that were so resplendent and commanding that it was feared if they were given freedom of the country, they might eclipse the simpler deities of the Shinto pantheon. But in a few decades after its first introduction, a compromise was effected between Shinto and Buddhism. The supernatural beings had to change their names in

order to cater to native sentiment ; for, as to their inherent personal characteristics, these could be adjusted to satisfy all parties concerned. There is an advantage in being a supernatural being whose existence lies mainly in names ! Here, again, as on many other occasions, that national propensity of identification was uppermost in the Japanese mind. If there are beneficent beings in the Indian sky, why not identify them with the beneficent beings that ruled in the High Plain of Heaven ? A one hundred per cent. Hindoo avatar was forthwith converted into a one hundred per cent. Kami of the Japanese.

A strange thing in this connection is that in outward rites and ceremonies the Buddhists remained consistently alien, never assimilating themselves into Japanese ways. The priest continued to wear a foreign dress ; the utensils of worship have always had an exotic appearance ; the scriptures were read in archaic Chinese or partly in Pali or Hindustani, to such an extent that the expression "reading sutras" became an equivalent for incomprehensibility and unintelligibility.

While it is true that there have been unassimilable features in Buddhism, this is but a small fraction compared with the grateful influence that Sakya-Muni's teaching has had in Japan. It has proved a tremendous power in the general uplift of the nation. It has been a veritable gospel of intellectual and spiritual awakening. It is true that in certain ways it is too detached from practical life and refuses to concern itself with the daily routine of

mundane existence. As its followers say, it is un-moral, non-ethical. It is above the battle of life, above right and wrong, above good and evil. The sutras are not textbooks on ethics. They tell what things are, just as they are, and not as they ought to be. It is a profound philosophy. And so profound and fundamental a philosophical system as Buddhism could not fail to exercise both directly and indirectly an immense influence on the moral ideas and actions of its devotees.

Foremost among its influences is separation from the world. Just as in Mediæval Europe, this peculiarity is well illustrated in the lives of devotees who retired from cities and villages and dwelt in monasteries. It is illustrated on a higher plane by the more enlightened devotees who isolated themselves in thought from the crowd, so that they could look upon the world from a distance and lend an outstretched arm to save and heal it.

The Buddhist view of life, which is pessimistic, offers much to please and deepen the sense of *aivaré* (pity) and *nasaké* (compassion), and to strengthen the moral action emanating from these motives. This is the reason why so many men of action, warriors, statesmen and merchants, have been followers of Buddha. The great merit of his teaching lies not in giving small instructions—"Don'ts" and "Shalt nots"—but in stressing the fundamental conceptions of life, the realities that make up life, and in dealing with these in a way to promote harmonious adjustment. It did not teach the doctrine of original sin.

If it taught anything of evil, it taught that life itself is evil.

But life is evil because it is a bundle of desires and passions, of libidos. Life freed of libidos is perfection. Nirvana is such perfection. Whoever attains this height is not afraid of life, of evil or death ; and the place in his mind formerly occupied by fear will be filled with pity and compassion. His soul expands. He can now look with equal pity on all mankind. If in ascending to a lofty elevation, a Buddhist neglects weaker brethren, that is not fulfilling the highest object of life. Man is eternally bound to man.. It is man's nature to feel for his kin. Pity, if not sympathy, is his inborn character and his loftiest flight will not release him from duties to his brother-men. He cannot fly so high from the earth that he can escape the ties that bind him to it. Buddha himself always insists on the middle path. The practical precepts of the great Oriental teachers laid most stress on moderation. At least as the Japanese understood it, the highest and the most useful doctrine was to observe moderation in all things. Here, again, is seen the realistic temper of our race.

Thus, from whatever source our moral doctrines were derived—from native Shinto, from Confucian ethics or from Buddhist sutras—we did not establish an independent school of our own, neither did ardent advocates of different schools engage in such fierce debates as we read of in the history of philosophy and religion elsewhere. Mutual tolerance was generally observed. Apparent

inconsistencies were harmonized in a higher inarticulate synthesis. This moral integration is best illustrated in what may be called the religion of honor, the code of Bushido, which will be the subject of my next lecture.

X. 19. 1932.

CHAPTER VIII

JAPANESE CODE OF HONOR

We considered in our last lecture the three currents of moral influence which swept over Japan in the course of her national life. These are the inherent primitive teaching, typified by Shinto, Chinese ethics as taught by Confucius, and the precepts of Buddhism. The theories underlying these various ethical systems were different, but in their practical application by the Japanese they resulted in the maintenance of the even tenor of life—moderation. This teaching accorded well with the natural temperament of the people, because they are not fond of prolonged intellectual scrutiny into abstract ideas, but are pragmatically minded. They culled what suited their fancy and their mode of life from the different ethical and religious theories, and formulated, though by no means systematized, a moral code of their own.

Some thirty years ago, when I first wrote an essay on the moral code of the Japanese and called it “Bushido”, there was raised a question both in Japan and among some scholars abroad as to the legitimacy of such a term. They had heard of *Shido* or *Budo* but never of “Bushido”. Some of them went even further and doubted the existence of such a code. I was very much in the position of a school teacher who was explaining in his classroom about

the circulation of blood. "Now boys," said he, "when I stand on my head I get red in the face because all the blood rushes into my head. Why is it, then, that when I am standing, my feet don't get swollen?" A small boy raised his hand and said "I know. Because the feet aren't empty."

It seemed as though I had tried to draw all the blood into an empty system. But the more I think of it, the stronger grows my conviction that we have been under the sway of ideas and opinions unformulated but none the less potent, whose guiding principle was Honor. And as it came into existence during the days of feudalism, it partook of the coloring and taste of the period. Since it was made a class morality of the knights, samurai, it laid particular stress on honor ; and because it was primarily meant for the observance by that class, we may call it *Bushido*, the Way of the Fighting Knights.

The moral sentiments cultivated in Bushido have not disappeared with the feudal régime. The latter was officially abolished in 1872, but the ideas of chivalry which it inculcated survived the mother institution and are by no means dead. Indeed, they are emotionally alive. In the military profession they are naturally best preserved ; but as they were the ruling ideas for several centuries and formed the subject of endless tales and poems, romances and dramas, they filtered through the social class for which and by which they were developed and leavened the whole nation. A popular saying was, "Among flowers

✓ the cherry ; among men the samurai," and the tradesmen and the peasants looked upon the knightly class with admiration, and imbibed from it their notions of honor, rectitude, service. Do you not remember that Mr. H. G. Wells, in delineating Modern Utopia, speaks of a group of men selected for their personal worth and intelligence to be the leaders of society, and that he dilates upon their professional education ? It is significant that he gives to this group the Japanese name, *samurai*.

What I shall attempt in the present lecture will be to explain, (1) how Bushido developed and penetrated all classes of society ; (2) what it teaches and requires — particularly the strange practices of *harakiri* and vengeance ; and (3) how it is now declining.

I

In my lecture on Feudalism I gave a sketch of the growth of local barons and of their incessant brawls. I also spoke of the rise of chivalry, which was very much like that of Europe.

When the barons and their vassals engaged themselves in constant warfare, and war became the trade of the great and the profession of the noble, it was only to be expected that certain rules of etiquette should be observed among them. For no group of men can long remain in any sort of relationship, hostile or amicable, without a mutual understanding regarding their conduct under certain conditions. Even a pack of wild beasts or a herd

of domestic animals have their code which they obey. Gangs have their moral obligations, which they are bound to respect. *Ruse de guerre, tour de force*, is trickery and deception, but even upon these are imposed certain limitations.

The necessity for a common basis of action in war was not only absolutely imperative but fortunately easily possible in feudal Japan, since the wars were always confined to the country and the belligerents were all of the same race, speaking the same language, bred in the same literature and traditions. The warriors were not eternal enemies. It very often happened that a vassal who served in one feudatory left it for some reason (without disgrace) and took service in another. Not unusually did brothers, sometimes a father and son, fight on opposite sides. When a war ended, enemies returned to friendship. Under these circumstances it was only natural that there should arise, separately or conjointly, general rules, dictated by the sense of justice and sympathy, and regulating the conduct of war.

II

The most sensitive feature in the moral relations of those engaged in fighting is honor ; as Shakespeare has it,

“ Honor and policy, like unsever’d friends,
I’ the war do grow together.”

The honor that belongs to peace was little heeded under feudal conditions. In the precarious life led in times of

constant fighting, property was naturally insecure and its value was lightly appreciated. The only permanent acquisition was a good name; that was immortality. "Tigers, when they die, leave their skin behind." How to leave his footsteps on the sands of time, was the care of every young samurai, and all his strivings and sacrifices had that single end in view. But we have seen that feudalism in the last 250 years was a régime of peace under the Tokugawas. The status of Knighthood was rigidly kept up and martial exercises were the duties required of the samurai, but there was no actual fighting. And during this time of military inactivity, the attention of the samurai was directed to administration and study. The honor that they so longed for was not to be acquired by feats of arms. None the less, honor was the goal to which every noble-hearted youth aspired.

There are three ways of acquiring honor: (1) by different processes, which, though they may do no great harm to others, are by no means fair,—such as by shifting our own failure on others (what psychologists term projection) or by claiming honor for actions we have not accomplished (identification); (2) by insisting upon the merit our own action deserves; and (3) by simply doing what is meritorious and not caring how our deeds are regarded by the world. We need not discuss the morals of the first, however common cases in this category may be. Of the second kind, it is a question of right and may be taken up by lawyers. Only

the third, which is the knowledge that honor and deserving do not always go together, is of real import. The code of Bushido regards this attitude of mind as the highest, and finds therein its ideal. A truly noble knight is satisfied with the approval of his conscience. He despairs of three that know him, Heaven, earth, and himself. Little cares he whether any human being understands him or not. It is such an ideal that leads us on and draws us upward. The samurai learns from such an ideal the nobility of service. He appreciates Pope's lines :

"Honor and shame from no condition rise ;
Act well your part and there all honor lies."

It must be admitted that the field of service in feudal days was very limited. There was no social activity ; but the fact that the samurai had a fief on which his tenants worked gave him no small responsibility, even in times of peace or though he had no official post in the government of his state. The welfare of his tenants depended upon the way he dealt with them. It was surely to his interest to keep them in good condition for an emergency and to make them satisfied with their lot. In one word, *noblesse oblige* was made a point of honor.

Honor of the highest grade is magnanimous and compassionate. "The bravest are the tenderest." A warrior merely strong and ferocious was called a "boar-samurai." The founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate left a set of maxims for his family and retainers and it shows the spirit of a representative samurai. It runs as

follows: "Life is likened unto a long journey with a heavy burden. Let thy step be slow and steady, that thou stumble not. Persuade thyself that imperfection and inconvenience are the natural lot of mortals, and there will be no room for discontent, neither for despair. When ambitious desires arise in thy heart, recall the days of extremity through which thou hast passed. Forbearance is the root of quietness and assurance forever. Look upon wrath as thy enemy. If thou knowest only what it is to conquer, and knowest not what it is to be defeated, woe unto thee; it will fare ill with thee. Find fault with thyself rather than with others."

One looks in vain in this document for the qualities ordinarily associated with the warlike profession. These reflections have been criticized as being too negative and retiring in character. Certainly they lack the aggressiveness that we often think is required of a soldier. But I daresay that Iyeyasu knew well of soldierly instincts when he wrote these lines. We must remember that they were given out to men who had fought with him in many a battle, and who had succeeded and had now become the rulers and leaders of the nation. Iyeyasu, finding himself triumphant and secure, takes a survey of his own past and of human life in general. He finds, as does his race, that life is a weary way and the world, empty; he feels the vanity of triumph, the hollowness of glory. He seeks satisfaction and peace only in the soul purged of ambition and wrath. There is a strain of *avaré* in his admonitions.

Mr. Lowes Dickinson put the thought of the samurai in the few following words : " Japanese feudalism converted the Buddha's doctrine of renunciation into the stoicism of the warrior. The Japanese samurai renounced desire, not that he might enter Nirvana, but that he might acquire the contempt of life which would make him a perfect warrior. In him, the knight included and swallowed up the saint. And the samurai, meditating in a tea-house on the beauty, the brevity, and the pathos of life, and passing out to kill or to die, is as typical of the Japanese attitude to life as the wandering *sannyasin* is of the Indian."

If the spirit of the samurai teaching, as represented in the so-called Legacy of Iyeyasu, is as gentle and meek as we have seen, moral requirements made of the gentle sex are characterized by sternness and severity.

I have remarked in a former lecture that feudal society was an encampment intended for a fighting purpose. Preparedness was its watchword. Women, physically disabled from active service, were to be trained to help their husbands and fathers in case of emergency. First of all they were taught not to hamper them by weakness of will or by emotions. They had to shift for themselves. In moments of peril they had to look out for their own personal honor. Samurai daughters were taught to use weapons, not so much on their enemies as on themselves, when there was danger of disgrace. A pocket poniard (*kaiken*) was always carried in the bosom. In using it,

if time allowed, a woman had first to tie her lower limbs firmly together with one of the numerous small sashes which are a part of her clothing, the object being to keep the limbs decently composed during the throes accompanying mortal agony. Moreover, she was taught exactly where to strike in the throat or breast. Perhaps this was the only lesson in anatomy that girls were taught in olden times.

Let me assure you that cases requiring such extreme steps did not occur frequently. Even under ordinary circumstances of safety and ease the training of girls was rigid in the extreme. Even in love their will was not consulted. According to Confucian teaching, woman was to observe the "three obediences," first to her parents as a daughter, second to her husband as a wife, thirdly to her son as a mother. This teaching may have been necessary in the polygamous system of the Chinese family ; but, in spite of its being often repeated in the education of Japanese girls, it was not strictly followed. Woman, among us, even in the feudal age, enjoyed more freedom than did her Chinese sisters ; but she had enjoyed greater freedom prior to the feudal age. She exercised her power in other capacities than those of a daughter, wife or mother. She was usually left the sole mistress of the house, and as mother she had a power over her sons, even after they were grown up. My friend, Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi, has recently written in English a book of fiction founded on experience. It is called *Mother*, and in

it he describes the position and influence of a mother in a Japanese home. The emotional bond between sons and mothers is a strong one in our country. The sternness of the father is compensated for by this bond. Mr. Briffault has, it seems to me, done a real service to sociology and to ethics by demonstrating the place of maternal instinct in the scheme of biological and social evolution. He tells us in his book *Mothers* that all the tender emotions of living creatures are the reflex of the mother heart. He finds evidence of his theory in all stages of animal societies and he will find particularly strong confirmation of it in the old Bushido code, on the manly background of which one notices a tapestry of tenderness and pathos, motivated by the sense of honor.

Life itself is conceived in Bushido as given not for personal enjoyment, but as a means for serving a person, or rather a cause symbolized by a person.

Modern democracy will be scandalized at an attitude of mind which sees in a fellow human being an object of unstinted service. Loyalty meant a faithful attachment to the person whom one owns as a master. Our concept of loyalty was different from that in the West. The etymology of "loyalty" shows that it means faithful obedience-to laws (*leges*). It is impersonal. But the essence of *Chū* lies in the innermost recesses of one's being. The Chinese character is composed of two ideograms, Center and Heart, showing that *Chung* (Chinese), is obedience to the behests of one's own will, a voluntary

surrender to the will of one whom one accepts as his superior. But the explanation is insufficient. It may indicate that one makes himself an utter slave of another, who may not be intrinsically superior in any respect. Indeed, the man accepted as superior may be a tyrant, an idiot or a madman. To follow such a creature will be the height of folly, a scandal on human nature. For one empty head to be bound to another will be like a definition of a net given by an Irishman, "holes tied together by strings." Loyalty is comparable to such strings! But on this subject Confucius taught clearly that it must be founded on reason. When one of his disciples, Shen, asked him if duty to parents and loyalty to a master meant absolute obedience, the sage replied—"O Shen! Shen! Don't you understand me yet? If an Emperor has seven subjects who will dispute (disagree or counsel adversely) with him, he will maintain the throne, though he commits errors. If a prince has five retainers who will dispute with him, he will not lose his territory though he may make mistakes. If a father has one son who disputes with him, he will keep up the family intact, though he may have faults." In one word, Confucius did not identify absolute and abject obedience with loyalty. He taught that when the man in power showed signs of abusing it, his followers should do their utmost to dissuade him from so doing. Confucius' conversation shows that true loyalty is not a string tying empty holes, but a cord that binds hearts of a master and servants to a principle higher

than their personal relations. Mencius found this higher principle in the welfare of the people, and hence justified regicide in the case of a tyrant who proved incapable of government.

In Japan an attempt at regicide was equivalent to revolt, rebellion. The once sworn loyalty or fidelity was never to be broken and if a prince failed to govern justly the duty of retainers was to lead him to the right path, by "disputing" with, or counseling him, even at the sacrifice of their lives.

In fact, the samurai was taught to lay his life aside as a garment is thrown off when it is no longer needed. This explains the institution of disembowelment or *harakiri*, a method of putting an end to oneself, entirely peculiar to Japan and begun about the twelfth century. No religion in Japan forbade suicide as sinful. Under some circumstances it was even extolled as an honorable deed, and among the many ways in which it can be accomplished *harakiri* was considered the most honorable. At first sight it is hard to understand how a people, visually so sensitive, and mentally so realistic, should have regarded *harakiri* with such favor; for it presents the most gruesome and horrid sight imaginable. And yet there was a reason for extolling it.

To describe the method briefly, I must state that it was the prerogative of man—a woman using the knife in another manner, as I have already suggested. A man, to commit suicide in the prescribed way, must first bathe

himself, put on new clothing or a ceremonial robe, and, after praying before the shrine of his ancestors, sit on the *tatami* in the usual Japanese fashion, wind his lower limbs with a sash, then bare the upper part of the body, take a dagger nine and a half inches long, thrust it into the left of the abdomen, and steadily draw across it to the right. The cut must not be too deep, but just enough so that, when he takes a deep breath, he will expire instantly, falling forward. It was considered disgraceful to fall backward, exposing anguish on the face.

When *harakiri* was imposed for punishment, it was only conventional, the condemned being beheaded by his trusted friend, while he stretched his arm to take up the dagger laid before him.

The Japanese believed that the human soul had its seat in the bowels, where large ganglia of nerves are located. They shared the view of the old Hebrews who, as in the Bible, spoke of "bowels of compassion," or of the ancient Greeks who located the soul in the *phren*. A friend who is a Greek scholar tells me that *phren* means mind, head, as in phrenology; but originally it meant midriff which separates the heart and lungs from the lower viscera. Later its location was elevated to the breast and still later to the head. The etymology describes the migration of the soul in Greece, but in Japan the seat of the soul remained stationary. It is not safe to take many things into one's head.

Of course, modern science will not endorse the idea of

locating the soul in any particular part of the body ; but once let such a belief—call it superstition if you like—be accepted, and the ugliness of this mode of death is forgotten. Moreover, as *harakiri* was adopted by a higher social class and often as a form of punishment when the crime was not of a shameful sort, its association with the men who died in this way lent to it the glamor of courage and even of glory. It is not *how* one dies but *why* he dies that determines the estimate of the manner of one's death. If Barabbas and thieves had been the only ones condemned to crucifixion, who would worship a cross ? Even the ghastly and realistic pictures of Tissot lose their repulsive features when we know of the life of the Man who hung upon the Tree.

So, when we are told of those thirty-two young men who, from a mistaken sense of patriotism and yet from the best of motives, made an attack on foreigners early in the days of the Restoration, and who were condemned to death by *harakiri*, even the foreign representatives, French and English, who demanded the punishment, could not witness the tragic occasion without a deep sense of admiration. The scene was enacted on a temple ground in Sakai, near Osaka, and as one by one the youths disengaged themselves, the foreign ministers were so impressed by their demeanor, that when seventeen had dispatched themselves, they asked the Japanese authorities that the rest might be spared.

There is a temple-ground in the suburbs of Tokyo

where are the graves of forty-seven *ronin* (*ronin* means literally wave-men, samurai who owed fealty neither to lord nor land). Their burial-place is hallowed ground to the Japanese, and is visited by many tourists and other foreigners, many of whom do not hesitate to burn incense at their graves, which are marked by simple stone. I cannot go into the oft-repeated story of the forty-seven men who were condemned to *harakiri* because they violated the law by taking justice into their own hands, by attacking and killing a man who had insulted their lord. They, themselves, recognized the justice of the law and, therefore, willingly submitted to it; but they were not satisfied with the protection of the law accorded to insult. In an age when honor was considered dearer than life, the absence of an adequate legal protection of honor had to be supplied by some action which lay outside the pale of the law. Some provision for giving vent to feelings which cannot be suppressed by statute books was required. This was the reason why Theodore Roosevelt, whose mentality reminds one of the old-fashioned samurai, did not endorse the principle of "peace at any price." He would exempt from peace treaties questions of honor, because these are not matters for law to decide. That is why we still hear of duelling in Europe. I am afraid that even now in this juridical age there are questions concerning national existence and honor that are difficult of settlement by legal instruments, and an enforced legal solution will still leave the sense of wrong unrequited.

But to return to the forty-seven *ronin*, their action was no doubt illegal. It was right that they should be punished. The law was upheld, but public sentiment was with them. To criticize it simply as an act of revenge is to ignore man's deep-seated sense of justice. The English word revenge, venge, vengeance, shows that it is of the same root with vindication, claim, right or demand for justice. Is it not this innate feeling of justice that makes us take satisfaction in the operation of the law of Nemesis? A certain foreigner to whom I once related the story of the forty-seven *ronin*, remarked that it savored only of revenge. What about the tragedies of Sophocles, Euripedes, Shakespeare? Does not the idea of compensation, retaliation, restitution, vengeance, run through most of these?

I have dwelt at some length on the story of the forty-seven *ronin* to show that, in the code of honor, some actions were taken with general approval which an advanced, but incomplete, apparatus of law would not sanction. As Bacon says,—“ Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which, the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out; for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office.” Though vengeance—rather public revenge—became one of the tenets of Bushido, and excusable at a time when the country was divided into many petty independent states and provincial private wars were still not uncommon, as everywhere

when justice develops, punishment became the sole right of the state.

III

We have cast a cursory view upon the more prominent features of the moral code which passed in the Japanese society of sixty years ago. In 1872 feudalism was abolished, a strong centralized government came into existence, laws modelled after the most advanced patterns of Europe were codified, liberal ideas were introduced, Western sciences cultivated, popular education encouraged,—and the nation was revolutionized. Bushido, which began as the morality of a class, lost its *raison d'être*. Democracy pulls down the highest elements of society as it pulls up the lowest. Trade and industry scorn the Quixotic fancies of a two-sworded knight. A Cyrano de Bergerac is the butt of ridicule, and the feather on his hat is esteemed as light as nought, and his star as high as ever in the empty sky. As Goldsmith said long ago—

“Where wealth and freedom reign, contentment fails,
And honor sinks where commerce long prevails.”

We must admit that these words do not apply to the modern age, which is preëminently commercial, and commerce now-a-days cannot be carried on without honor.

Goldsmith's words were, I believe, nevertheless true at the time of his writing and they are true as applied to the period of our history when the traditional code of honor,

in passing, did not leave in its wake a developed sense of the new and more enlightened order now set before us as a goal. Meanwhile commerce, represented by interchange of material goods, makes gigantic strides. Let it be far from me to blame commerce for the loss of honor. In this respect the Chinese merchants have a great lesson to teach us. They have in their shops, as a god of trade, a figure of a grim warrior, Kan-u. Two reasons are given for this warrior's presence in a place which he likely did not care to visit when alive. One is that he protected trade and the other is that he stuck to his word of honor.

It is not that honor is declining. It is that traditions about it are decaying, and traditions are like shells with meat within. Beautiful as are their external color and form, these are not the essence of the life within.

To an old man like myself, things familiar in my youth now seem to be more effulgent than ever—now that they are irradiant in the setting sun. Are the things I beheld in boyhood days non-existent, a baseless fabric of vision, an illusion and a dream? Or are they the suggestion of the substance of things we all hope for? I leave the answer to coming generations. Meantime, if we take a glance at the religious ideas of our people the next time we meet here, we may get a partial answer to our query.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE JAPANESE

In my last two lectures on the morals of Old Japan and on the code of honor, as well as in the first lecture on the Japanese race, I called your attention to some spiritual characteristics of our people. I may now group these characteristics together and enlarge upon them under the heading, "Religious Ideas of the Japanese."

No question seems to be more embarrassing to a thinking man than to be asked about his religious ideas. The answer is as varied as the number of people to whom the question is submitted. We find much with which to sympathize in Ozanam, a great French mathematician (1717) who was wont to say—"Let the divines dispute and let the Pope pass verdict, but let the mathematicians go straight into paradise."

A religious discussion is endless ; that is, it has no end in more senses than one. It can go on eternally like those mediæval scholastic arguments about the nature of angels or the reaches of paradise or the mazes of hell, or it may be endless like the Irishman's rope, which had only one end because the other was cut off. May we not say that religious controversies have had their ends cut off in many directions, thanks to the progress of science and philosophy? Take Christianity. What has become of the

doctrine of transubstantiation, for which tens of martyrs were burnt at the stake? What about immaculate conception, of plenary inspiration, of papal infallibility?

Avoiding controversial subjects, I shall confine myself in the present lecture to the interpretation of the beliefs of our own people and treat of (1) what we mean by a religious belief; (2) what the native religious beliefs as embodied in Shinto were; and (3) how Buddhism affected our faith; and as to Christianity I shall take it separately.

I

What man believes concerning his existence beyond this life, be it in the future or in the past, seems to me to constitute his faith, and what he does as corollaries of his faith—especially in the act of worship—constitutes his religion. If his belief is contradicted by positive science, it is called superstition. A man may have some faith, with which, however, he may mix superstition. And the reason why superstitions are so general and so hard to fight is that they are not “a lie which is all a lie,” but “a lie which is part a truth.”

In a previous lecture, I dilated at some length on the artistic temperament of our people. The sense of beauty, extended horizontally, generates art, and the same sense projected upwards, gives rise to a religion. Our people are sentimental and artistic, and among their higher sentiments and elevated tastes are religious taste and

sentiment. This is far from saying that they are so swayed by religion that all their sentiments and all their tastes are governed by it.

Being largely of the nature of sentiment, the creed of the Japanese is incapable of concise statement. There are religions whose articles of faith are reduced to clear-cut catechisms, still leaving ample room for divines to dispute about them. Can any articles of faith make up a religion? Certainly a cut-and-dried theology is not faith. Are there not in the very nature of a religious faith mystery and mysticism?

The definition of religion which appeals most to my undoctrinal mind is the one given by Emperor Meiji, who has put it in a poem of thirty-one syllables—"To commune with a god, invisible to eyes of flesh, is the faith of the heart of man." Not a mental discovery of the existence of the Divine but the feeling of His presence. Not a philosophical demonstration of His attributes or of His scheme of creation, but a contact with His presence. Here again, as on so many occasions, is shown the realistic character of our race. The faith of the Japanese is not an intellectual assent. It is the settled consciousness of attainment. It is not analyzing God or His garment. It is grasping something—maybe but the hem of His garment or the latchet of His shoe. The mystical writer, Evelyn Underhill, defines religion as "Man's response to the call of supernatural reality." There is religious realism and realistic religion.

The Japanese conception of religion is clear in experience, but vague in theory. It begins in instinct, gains volume by sentiment, and grows in strength by emotion. "First guessed by faint auroral flushes sent along the wavering vista of his dream," the Japanese draws nearer to his theme of the hereafter or of æons past, not by power of intellect but by intensity of emotions. The race feels deep down in its consciousness that sublunary existence is not the whole of life. The present is more of a void than the past or the future, and the void is full of duties. Indeed, this belief is so ingrained in us that it has become a mental habit which asks for no demonstration, a subconscious faith which no materialism can destroy.

It is true we do not formulate the immortality of the soul in terms of philosophy or science. Nevertheless, instinctively do we believe that the dead are alive, and that the living are not mere dust, destined to return to dust. Ask the most advanced agnostic among us if he entertains no belief in a future life. His characteristic reply will be, "I do not know," by which he means, "I cannot prove it." But watch him as he stands by his parents' tomb, or as he throws a handful of clods into the grave at the funeral of his friend; a voice whispers in his ears that in the darkness of death "the stars shine through his cypress-trees," and he rarely fails to look "to see the breaking day across the mournful marbles play." Nor is it only in hours of sorrow that his faith

gleams through the darkness. At times of rejoicing his mind fondly turns to the absent from earth, and hears their glad response to his joy. He feels his life bound to all life, past, present or future. I have said more than once that he lives in the vast concourse of ghosts. He believes, as Savage did, that he had his birth when the stars were born in the dim æons of the past, and that his cradle was rocked by cosmic forces.

II

The importance of Shinto is due primarily to the fact that it is in its essence strictly indigenous, and that it comprehends more than a religious faith, as this is usually understood. Shinto may be called a bundle, or sheaf, of the primitive instincts and aspirations of our race. All religion is conservative ; but in the case of Shinto, this loyalty to the dead and the past is more truly so than even in the religious life of ancient Rome. *Kokū-fū*, the old custom of the land, has more power than the *mores majorum* among the Romans, and Shinto is the most faithful guardian of our ancient traditions, keeping intact even their defunct doctrines and effete usages.

From another reason does Shinto derive its importance. It is in its being the religion of the reigning House. Its tenets run through all the chief rites and rituals of the Court. It was, indeed, in earliest times the act of government itself. To govern and to worship are etymologically synonymous—*Matsurigoto*, meaning either. Numerically,

too, Shinto assumes vast importance; not that it has a large following, for it is impossible to count the number of its adherents, but because of some sixteen thousand shrines, great and small, national and local, and because of some fifteen thousand ministrants distributed throughout the country under a dozen or more sects.

The name Shinto is the short of the Chinese pronunciation of *Kami-no-michi*, the Way of the Gods, and was first used in Japan, in an historical compilation of 720 A.D., when it became necessary to distinguish the native cult from Buddhism and Confucianism. In the broad sense of the ways of heaven or of nature, or in its more restricted moral significance of the righteous path, or in the philosophical meaning of a divine dispensation, the same term was used by Confucius himself thirteen centuries before its adoption amongst us. Prior to the introduction of this appellation, our simple faith was known as *Kami-Nagara*, a word which defies exact translation, since the first of the component terms, *Kami*, commonly rendered god or deity, has no exact connotation ; and as to the second term, *Nagara*, "as it is," the difficulty is even greater. Perhaps the translation "man himself divine" may convey some idea of the indigenous belief. *Kami* is an existence, in which all contradictions vanish. For though human life is generally conceived as a struggle between "the good which I would and which I do not, and the evil which I would not and which I practise," as Saint Paul complained, the godlike (*Kami-Nagara*)

partakers of the divine nature, differ from ordinary mortals in that they dwell in regions where reigns perfect harmony.

The focus of the Shinto faith lies in the doctrine of *Kami*. As already said, this term has no exact equivalent in English. Literally it means "above", super, supernal, superior. How much it is related to a Turkish word *Kam*, used among the Tungu Shamans, meaning an intermediary between man and gods, or with the Ainu term *Kamoi*, meaning a divinity, I am in no position to tell. As far as I can translate it, it lies between super-man and super-human or incorporeal being. Every creature, at the instant of departure from this life, is freed from the trammels which the flesh imposes upon the spirit, and there-upon attains *Kami*-hood. *Kami* is the quintessence of all being—animate or inanimate. Shinto is hylozoism or rather pan-psychism, *Kami*, being life and psyche, which manifests itself in every form and force of nature.

The doctrine of *Kami-Nagara* precludes from Shinto any idea of original sin. It has implicit faith in the innate purity of the human soul. It believes in the existence of the inner light, the divine seed, but, not going farther or deeper, it stops where Matthew Arnold stops, by teaching that sweetness and light are not only a normal but an ideal condition to strive after. In fact, Shinto did not teach us to pray for forgiveness of sins, but for the sweet things of this life, for happiness but not for blessedness. The Hebrew conception of sin hardly exists. Evil is identified with defilement or excess, something foreign

to the soul.

Emphasize as best he may the diviner element in our nature, the most consistent Shintoist cannot be blind to its weaker side, and the deeper he probes into his own heart, the clearer grows his discovery how far short of godlike purity his thought and practice fall. Like the old Stoic, he may mentally deny the existence of sin, but from personal experience he is forced to admit its reality. He may refuse to dub it a sin ; he may call it an impurity. Whatever the nomenclature, he cannot escape the uncomfortable feeling of a child who has told a lie. To get rid of this feeling he resorts to the rite of blowing it off (*harai*) like dust, or washing it off (*misogi*) like a stain. A religion which takes such slight cognizance of the gravity of evil and sin, and which accepts the facts of mortal life as divinely ordered, can easily dispense with any elaborate theology or a stringent moral code. A groaning Hebraism is out of the question, but a smiling Hellenism is in place. There is self-contentment in Shinto.

Professor J. S. Huxley maintains that the belief in super-human beings is not an essential or integral part of the religious way of life ; but he makes reverence the sole criterion of faith. Such a definition of religion approaches our notion—that even the head of a sardine is good and sufficiently efficacious as a deity, if it is only believed in with sufficient sincerity and reverence. This is auto-suggestion pure and simple. One can see it in verbigera-

tion used in incantations. As far as the Japanese are concerned, they do not suffer from the lack of objects to worship. The 800 myriad divinities that fill the pantheon of the Yamato race include every single object in Nature and every article of man's handiwork. There is a god of hearth and home, of fire and water, of thread and needles, of pots and pans, of brushes and brooms and what not. Recently a god was created for typewriters, for pins. Whatever serves us is worthy of our reverence and affection.

But whence this astounding polytheism? And whence this multiple reverence? The sentiment commonly designated reverence implies fear, dread, awe—as well as faith and trust in and gratitude for things and men other than self. Especially true is this of a people as extrovertive as the Japanese. Their herd instinct is so highly developed that their individuality is absorbed in the things around them. Their sympathies go forth to such a degree as to enliven their whole surroundings. A Shinto priest was once asked how he could seriously elevate a sword, a mirror, a piece of stone, an old cap or the like, to a position of godhead. Said he, "Anything that has served a man's use, especially when he treasured or liked it, partakes of his spirit, for love is life and power." We use an implement or other object, and our virtue goes into it while its virtue steals into us unawares.

In the impersonal mentality of the Japanese, the flowing in and the flowing out of spiritual force are always dis-

tinguished. He may feel, but he does not analyze. To him the divine and the human and all nature make one whole, and the whole being god, the parts are also gods. The everlasting divinity is called human during the time it resides on this planet. The instant it is liberated from its ephemeral tenement of clay it is divine again.

Though the race is endowed with a deep sense of reverence, our people have no genius for putting into a credo their vague yearnings. Shinto is an embodiment of their primitive aspirations. They could satisfy their craving by a natural animistic worship, consisting of ablution and offering. If with you cleanliness is next to godliness, with Shinto the two are synonymous. Life eternal is not the goal of their ambition ; earthly existence is quite sufficient for gods.

Thus Shinto has never developed a philosophy or theology. As a religion it is infantile ; but, like an infant, it is full of surprises, attractions and promises. A few words now about its moral precepts.

As all natural instincts are part and parcel of one's being, they are no impediment to a god-like life—hence no asceticism. Shinto is unmoral. Its very gods were perhaps like the *numina* of the Romans. To be god-like constrains no abstemious life. The gods do not deny themselves. Only they never indulge in excesses. *Kannagara*, the condition of godhead, is the normal wholesome state of natural existence, a state of existence congenial to an artistic as well as a realistic temperament. In order

to be natural, an artificial aid is called for, and therefore to be very natural, Shinto has become extremely ritualistic. The State does not consider its many rites and ceremonies as religious functions. Ritualism forms the bulk of Shinto profession, and in sonic respects estranges it from real as well as spiritual life.

III

Now a few words about Buddhism. The introduction of Buddhism into Japan dates back to the middle of the sixth century. Its missionary operations ever since the time of King Asoka (250 B.C.) had been reaping considerable fruit in the southern part of Asia, and extended by way of Bactria as far as Syria and Egypt, and even into Greece and Macedonia. By 67 A.D. it found its way to China, being brought thither by Chinese emissaries, who had been despatched westward in search of a new religion which prophecy had declared would be started about that time, a prophecy which might have referred to Christianity, as far as time was concerned.

It is well to bear in mind that Buddhism is divided into two great branches, the Northern and the Southern, more divergent than the Protestant and the Roman Catholic faiths. The Southern branch, called also the "Lesser Vehicle" (*Hina Yana* in Sanskrit or *Shōjō* in Japanese), accepted in Ceylon and Siam, is a purer form and simpler in doctrine. The Northern, called the "Greater Vehicle" (*Maha Yana* or *Daijō*), has deviated widely from the

original teachings of Sakya-Muni. It has gained not only in intellectual volume, in theology and philosophy, but also in accretions of foreign matter, absorbing the teachings and legends and gods of alien and hostile religions. Both these schools found their way from China to Japan via Korea. They came just at the time when the country was eager to learn from abroad. On their arrival they found the ground already occupied by Confucianism, which counted among its adherents the members of the Court and the learned of the land. Naturally, Buddhists were met by opposition from them ; but, at the same time, it was in the high social circles that the new tenets won their first votaries.

The rapid spread of this religion was due to the conversion, during the latter part of the sixth century, of the Prince Imperial and Regent of the Crown. A man of the highest character and of extraordinary ability, who combined in his person the sagacity of a statesman and the virtues of a saint, a savant and an artist, Shōtoku Taishi took under his patronage the native followers and foreign teachers of the new faith. A unique figure in the annals of our country, his contributions to our civilization were incalculable. He reconciled in a genuine Japanese fashion all the conflicting faiths, calling Shinto the root, Confucianism the flower, and Buddhism the fruit of the one tree of life. He established different institutions of charity, such as monasteries, orphanages, dispensaries, hospitals ; he built many temples, some of which are still standing as

marvellous monuments of architecture, having weathered the storm of time for well-nigh fifteen centuries.

But very soon after the death of this Prince, Buddhism began to be disturbed by sectarian differences of opinion.

Among the founders of sects, two names are worthy of special mention, Saicho, canonized as Dengyo Daishi, and Kukai, as Kobo Daishi, founders respectively of the two strong sects of Tendai (Heavenly Command), and Shingon (True Word). Both belonged to the early part of the ninth century. Though both of these saints studied in China and the fundamentals of their sects were brought thence, they not only admitted the Shinto cult into their faith but absorbed Shinto gods into their pantheon.

On the part of Shinto, few shrines were able to retain their original integrity ; quite frequently the two religions mixed and mingled. Buddhist deities found lodgment side by side with Shinto gods under the same shelter. In private households you still see a miniature Buddhist shrine, and close by it a shelf provided with a few insignia of Shinto. In Mediæval Europe very prudent people worshipped both Christ and Satan, in order to be sure that, in case one of them should fail, the other would come to help. Similarly, the Japanese took policies in two competing insurance companies, one with its headquarters in Paradise, which lay somewhere in the West, and the other nearer home in the High Plain of Heaven. When a birth occurs in the family, the babe is taken to a Shinto shrine for consecration and blessing ; but when

there is a death, the funeral is often conducted by a Buddhist priest. Shinto festivals are occasions of joy and rejoicing, of thanksgiving and merry-making. Buddhist festivals are usually suggestive of sin and of sorrow, of sober thoughts and sombre musings.

The final and practical identity of all religions has been expressed in a well-known verse :—

“ Be it crystal of snow-flake frail,
Be it globule of hoary hail,
Be it the form of thick-ribbed ice,—
If but the sun’s warm rays upon them fall,
They melt and merge in one element all.”

Thus in closest ties united, the two faiths had spent centuries together, when, with the Restoration of the Imperial power in 1868, Shinto resumed its ancient dignity, and the native faith left the spouse of alien origin ; but the separation is still largely on legal paper only. This attempt of the Government to get rid of Buddhism placed Japan in the position of an American lady who wanted a new hat. A saleswoman who showed her various samples, picked out one and said “ This is most becoming to you. You look ten years younger in it.” The lady flung it away, saying “ I won’t have it if it makes me look ten years older when I take it off.” Japanese life is much fuller and happier with Buddhism than without it and yet, from sheer bluff, so to speak, she, that is Japan, tried to fling it away. I think the lady after all bought the hat, and so did Japan continue to keep Buddhism, and the

populace continue to worship the *Kami* and the Buddha with reverence and fervor. As ecclesiastical institutions they are both equally recognized by the Government.

I have thus far been treating Buddhism as an institution. As such it has not been altogether free from errors, sins and crimes. It has been anything but the teaching of its founder. In judging religions which we do not profess, we have to be both just and charitable.

The most original and authentic exposition of the teaching of Saky-a-Muni is embodied in the following sentences, which he uttered as he came down from a mount of meditation : "There are two extremes which he who has renounced the world ought not to follow,— habitual devotion, on the one hand, to sensual pleasures, which is degrading, vulgar, ignoble, unprofitable, fit only for the worldly-minded ; and habitual devotion, on the other hand, to self-mortification, which is painful, ignoble, unprofitable. There is a middle path discovered by the Tathagata (Buddha), a path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to Nirvana. Verily, it is this noble (Aryan) Eight-fold Path (*ariyo attangiko maggo*), that is to say, Right Views, Right Aspirations (or Resolves), Right Speech, Right Conduct (or Work), Right Livelihood, Right Effort (or Training), Right Mindfulness, and Right Rapture."

This first public utterance of Gautama, delivered in Pali to his five former associates in Benares, is known as

the *Bana*, and sounds simple enough at first hearing. The instant we inquire what is meant by the Noble Eight-fold Path, we are struck at once by the recondite meanings attached to each of these categories.

Under Right Conduct (Kammanto) the power of love is portrayed and its exercise enjoined, forming a fit parallel to the thirteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. It says :

“ All the means that can be used as bases for doing right are not worth the sixteenth part of the emancipation of heart through love. Love takes them all up into itself, outshining them in radiance and glory.

Just as whatsoever stars there be, their radiance avails not the sixteenth part of the radiance of the moon, Love takes them all up into itself, outshining them in radiance and glory.

Just as in the last month of the rains, at harvest time, the sun, mounting up on high into the clear and cloudless sky, overwhelms all darkness in the realms of space, and shines forth in radiance and glory ;—just as in the night, when the dawn is breaking, the Morning Star shines out in radiance and glory ;—just so all the means that can be used as helps towards doing right avail not the sixteenth part of the emancipation of heart through love ! ”¹

Under the head of Right Rapture (*samahdi*), is described the beatitude of one who has attained to Nirvana, that state of spiritual exaltation where no evil can touch or harm him. It is a state of rapture and joy, and not of unfeeling indifference, as it is sometimes supposed to be.

¹ Translation of Rhys-Davids, as cited in Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation*, p. 147.

“Blessed are we who hate not those who hate us ;
 Who among men full of hate, continue void of hate,
 Blessed are we who dwell in health among the ailing ;
 Who among men weary and sick, continue well.
 Blessed are we who dwell free from care among the care-worn ;
 Who among men full of worries, continue calm.
 Blessed indeed are we who have no hindrances ;
 Who shall become feeders on joy, like the gods in their
 shining splendour.”

Were we to search among the voluminous literature of Buddhism, we should often come across words and thoughts, parables and incidents, with which the Gospels have made us familiar ; so much so that not a few suspect a strong influence of Buddhism upon early Christianity.

Whether the origins of the two religions, now called the religion of the East and the religion of the West, be one or two, if we divest both of their wrappings, we shall come to know how nearly allied in many particulars they are. Though at the foot of the hill the ways are far apart, as we ascend higher and higher, the nearer approach our paths, until they meet at the summit, to share the view of the plains below from the height of the same divine wisdom. On this height, in the fulness of time, may be brought into common brotherhood, the philosophers of the North and the seers of the South, the thinkers of the West, and the wise men of the East, and God shall be glorified by all His children. The hour is coming when neither on the mountains of Samaria nor in the city of

Jerusalem, neither in the Orient nor in the Occident, but in spirit and in truth, wherever men come together in brotherly love, shall they worship the same Father.¹ Is this not the true Christian spirit? How much attempt is made to spread this spirit in Japan will form the kernel of my next lecture which is "Christianity in Japan."

x. 28. 1932.

¹ Several passages and paragraphs in this lecture are taken from *The Japanese Nation*, Chapter V, on Religious Beliefs.

CHAPTER X

CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

In treating the subject of Christianity in Japan it is not my purpose, much as I should like to indulge in speculation, to discuss whether the apostle St. Thomas came to India and there infused into Buddhism the spirit of Christianity, or whether the Nestorian teachers found their way to Japan in the 7th or 8th century. I shall rest on safer and well substantiated historical ground and state, (1) how Christianity came to and spread in Japan in the 16th century, and how and why it was forbidden ; (2) how it was re-introduced by Protestant missionaries in the 19th century, and what it has done ; and (3) what may be expected of it in future.

I

We all know that oversea enterprises were started in every direction in the wake of the discovery of America by Columbus. The most enterprising adventurers were the Spaniards and Portuguese, whose jealousies and claims to new lands were settled by the famous Demarcation line of Pope Alexander VI in 1493, an imaginary line drawn three hundred miles, later shifted eight hundred miles farther, west of the Azores. This bull gave to Spain all the lands west of the line and to Portugal those

east of it. The Spaniards confined their explorations to the western hemisphere, the Americas, while the Portuguese extended their routes of navigation toward the east, i.e. to Africa and India. Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese, took the eastern route and on reaching India (1542) heard of the Philippines, which he called the Eastern Islands. Magellan (1522) had taken a westerly course by way of the strait which now bears his name, and upon landing in the Philippines, where he was killed, called them the Western Islands.

According to the general plan of the Roman Catholic Church, Japan was expected to become a colony of Portugal, as was India. Already there had been planted a Portuguese colony at Goa, halfway between Bombay and Calcutta. From this center it was hoped that the influence of the Holy See might emanate. Accordingly, the great Jesuit, Francis Xavier, came to Goa for the gigantic task of a spiritual conquest of the East. This was in the middle of the 16th century. Just about that time, a young Japanese samurai (by name Anjiro), who was guilty of manslaughter and could not safely live in his own country, found refuge in Goa and came under the spell of Xavier. Having become a zealous convert, Anjiro prevailed upon his preceptor to preach the Gospel in his native land.

Xavier arrived in Japan in 1549, accompanied by some of his Portuguese and Japanese brethren. He found the country in practical anarchy, each feudal lord governing

his little feudatory and fighting with a rival lord. As to religious thought, he found Shinto totally absorbed by Buddhism, and this Buddhism itself become so worldly as to ally itself with the cause of different barons and actually engaged in carnal warfare. By its ambition Buddhism forfeited the respect of the people and the patronage of the great. The samurai, whose occupation constantly exposed him to danger and who needed for consolation a source beyond earthly power, yearned for a spiritual guidance other than that in vogue.

In this respect Xavier's arrival was timely. He stayed only two years, but was so well received by the great and small that he himself spoke of his Japanese converts in highest praise. His popularity was primarily due to his personality ; but there were other causes as well for the success of his mission. One of them is that the Roman Catholic rites seemed familiar because they were not unlike those of Buddhism. On their part, the Jesuit missionaries were so surprised at the many similarities between Christianity and Buddhism that they attributed the Buddhist rites to the deceptive invention of the devil. None the less did the missionaries take every advantage to make their faith acceptable to the native mind. They even adopted some Buddhist nomenclature so that the populace might swallow Roman Catholic doctrines without feeling any difference between these and the religion to which they were accustomed. It is true that they freely used Latin words when they could find no

apt translation. To the Japanese converts, strange and unintelligible exoticism was no impediment, since a vast number of Buddhist expressions had been in circulation in their original Pali or Hindustani. Or, if some expressions jarred upon native ears, the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church, which appealed to the eyes, were so like Buddhist observances that Christianity, as preached by the Jesuits and later by the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, was often considered as but a new sect of Buddhism. To give but two of the most common examples : the Buddhist goddess of mercy, Kwannon, usually portrayed with an infant in her arms, can easily pass for a figure of the Virgin, while the familiar statue one meets with by the roadside, the particular friend and protector of children, was Jizo, a name that sounds much like Jesus.

...There was also a more mundane reason for the rapid spread of Christianity. When, in 1542, a small Chinese junk, manned by Portuguese traders, was wrecked on a southern island and the natives went to its rescue, an exchange of wares took place. The most valuable articles then obtained were some firearms and gunpowder. The story of these traders was widely circulated in Europe and they were followed by others of their countrymen residing in the Orient. The fabulous profit of 1200 per cent. was an irresistible attraction for every kind of adventurer.

The daimyo of Satsuma, by espousing Xavier's teaching,

had easier access to the supply of firearms. Without being cynical we may doubt which was the greater incentive for baptism, the Gospel or the firearms; or which was the stronger reason for espousing the Gospel, the salvation of one's soul or the defeat of the Buddhist monks, whose conduct was becoming unbearable.

If the causes for the spread of Christianity were not unmixed, the rapidity of its growth was certainly phenomenal. In 1581, thirty years after Xavier's arrival, there were two hundred churches in the different provinces of the country and 150,000 professing Christians of all classes of society. At the end of the 16th century, the number of converts was estimated at 300,000. It was believed by some that in a few generations all Japan would be converted to the Holy Faith.

As in every concern and undertaking of life, where there is prosperity the seeds of decay are simultaneously planted. Popularity begets pride. Success calls forth envy.

Those who entered into the labors of Xavier soon forgot his humility, tact and patience, and, relying upon the power of their numbers, began to be ambitious for more power and intolerant of whatever opposition there might be. And inevitably, as Christianity made its influence increasingly felt, opposition showed itself among Buddhists and Shintoists. There was no great reconciler such as Shōtoku Taishi, who called Shinto the root, Confucianism the flower and Buddhism the fruit of the human mind.

Suppose there had been a would-be reconciler, would the Spanish, Italian or Portuguese missionaries have co-operated with the then existing religionists? Tolerance was not one of their virtues. In their own homeland were raging persecution and inquisition. The Council of Trent (1545) had decreed the absolute ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope. How could the missionaries exercise tolerance towards other faiths, though these were located in the peripheries of their spiritual dominion? If in this connection we take into account the fact that the Council of Trent was conducted under the influence of Philip II or Charles V, both advocates of Spanish absolutism, we can easily see why the missionaries met with a fiasco in Japan at a moment when they appeared to be reaping a rich harvest of souls.

Animosity against Christianity was definitely established in 1587, but the edict of this year did not go beyond ordering the missionaries to leave the country. It did not apply to native Christians or to foreign merchants.

To understand how hostility to Christianity began, we must note two facts. One is that when Philip II united Portugal to his Spanish territory, though he confirmed the right of the Portuguese to the monopoly of trading directly with Japan, the latter were not on the friendliest terms with their new and greater compatriots, the Spaniards. The other fact to recall is that the Pope in 1585 vested in the Jesuits, who were Portuguese in nationality and had their headquarters in Malacca and Macao, the

sole right to preach in Japan. But in a certain diplomatic negotiation which took place between Japan and the Philippines, a number of Franciscan friars, who were Spaniards and were quartered in those islands, were sent out to Japan as envoys, and, taking advantage of their privilege, began to preach there.

Thus were sown the seeds of national and sectarian jealousy between the Portuguese Jesuits and the Spanish Franciscans. The rest of the story can be easily imagined from similar instances in Europe. The Japanese authorities and converts began to suspect that after all the holy fathers, the *padres* as they were called, were not all as unselfish as they professed to be. The incident that brought to a head the growing suspicion was slight in character, but it was taken as evidence.

A Spanish galleon, the *San Felipe*, bound from Manila to Mexico, was caught in a typhoon off the coast of Shikoku, and towed into a harbor. The pilot of the *San Felipe*, in order to escape an uncomfortable consequence, boasted of the power of Spain, and produced a map of the world to show the extent of her domains in Europe, America and Asia. In reply to a question as to how this greatness was attained he explained that the Kings begin by sending into the countries they wish to conquer *religeux*, who induce the people to embrace their religion, and when there was a sufficient number of converts to ensure a following, an army was sent. His hearers were naturally alarmed as to the underlying political intent of

the Church. After this event anti-Christian legislation became more and more stringent.

The edict of expulsion and the persecutions which followed were the work of Hideyoshi, sometimes called the Napoleon of Japan, who was practically the ruler of the country at the end of the 16th century. His successor, Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, pursued a liberal policy and though he did not formally abrogate the edict, he did not carry it out strictly, but rather welcomed European merchants to the country. We must remember that about this time the English formed the East India Company, and the Dutch companies in the East combined their forces. These two nationalities were more interested in trade than in proselytizing. Their Protestantism was in their favor. Therefore, when they sent their agents to Japan, these were well received and were given land upon which to reside and trade. But Ieyasu's lenient attitude did not last long. Whether reports derogatory to the missionaries reached his ears or whether the new converts behaved in a manner obnoxious to the religious or political authorities, Ieyasu in 1612 forbade the adoption of the Christian religion, and this prohibition was confirmed by his successors. Let it be stated in honor of the Christians, and also of the Japanese race, that the government measures could not rob the converts of their new faith. It is estimated that in the course of persecution, lasting from 1614 to 1635, some 280,000 had to meet the penalty for this in varying degrees.

Over one thousand suffered martyrdom by crucifixion, burning and beheading.

The exclusion law was not applied to the Portuguese and the Dutch, but even they were not allowed to live outside a small island near Nagasaki. But the fate of the Portuguese was soon sealed. In 1637 the peasants in the feudatory of Amakusa near Nagasaki rose in revolt, partly on account of heavy taxation, and partly because of a superstition that a certain lad of goodly appearance was to deliver them from suffering. The peasants won the sympathy of some Christian *ronin* and for a time the uprising presented an ominous appearance. A motley crowd of 20,000, including all classes and sorts of men, gathered in an abandoned castle and defied for some time a large army sent from long distances. In our history the event is known as the Christian Rebellion of Shimabara, and marks for two centuries the submergence of the Christian cause, because it furnished the strongest reason for the prohibition of that religion.

The Tokugawa became obsessed with fear of the foreign religion—*jashū*, the evil faith. Every precaution was taken to root it out of the land. The chief work of a local administration and of ecclesiastical regulations was the discovery and elimination of the Christians. Once a year the villagers and townsmen were called to the public place and were required to trample upon *fumiita* (literally stamping-board) bearing the image of the Virgin or of Christ, as a test of their faith. Anyone who could give

information to the authorities concerning a Christian believer was highly rewarded. But here and there in remote places, or under the disguise of some innocent practices, was the Christian faith preserved by a few pious souls. Some of them deposited a crucifix in the sanctum of the Shinto shrine, which nobody thought of opening, and there worshipped it. Sometimes a carved or painted image, to all appearance Buddhistic but marked with a small cross in the folds of the garment, was adored.

Never was a religious believer more consistently sought for, scrutinized, watched and persecuted. With the exception of a few families who retained the faith and kept up its practices in secret for some twenty decades, the land was swept clean of the followers of Christ. So continued the prohibition of Christianity, with varying strictness, until 1873.

II

When the country was opened to foreign trade in 1854 and foreigners obtained the right of residing in the land, one of the first objections made by European diplomats was against the placards posted in all public places throughout the country forbidding "the evil faith". They took such a public announcement as an insult to their national religion and to their personal faith. At first the Japanese authorities tried to exonerate themselves by stating that the notice bore no direct mention of Christianity, for it said simply "an evil faith". But no casuistry of this

sor could hold water, and finally in 1873 the boards were taken down. Christianity was thenceforth to be tolerated. Even before the formal lifting of the prohibitory laws, missionaries, both of Roman Catholic and of Protestant persuasion, had arrived in Japan. Some Catholic missionaries had been stationed in the Riu-Kyu Islands, so that, as soon as they found it safe to take up the work broken for two hundred years, they re-entered Japan in 1858. Faithfully they have worked in educational fields and charitable lines and are quietly bringing into their fold a steadily increasing number. The Greek Catholic Church, though it was for a time suspected of political designs, being strongly backed by the Russian government, has proved an immense power chiefly on account of the personality of its first leader, Archbishop Nicolai.

As to Protestant missions, the first representatives to enter the country were the Anglicans, who started work in Nagasaki in 1859. They were soon followed by the American Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed missionaries. These men came under most uninviting circumstances; but, due chiefly to their intelligent zeal and tact and their personal character, they were listened to by the curious; the reviling and the seeking. The first Protestant baptism took place in 1862, but during the next ten years not more than ten converts were baptized. The first Japanese church was built in Yokohama in 1872. In the same year was undertaken the translation of the Bible. Until then the Chinese translation had been used. The complete

version of the New Testament was published in 1880, and that of the Old in 1887.

In all these years there was no government opposition or impediment to the spread of the Gospel. The authorities were simply indifferent and so was the general public. The Buddhists raised the strongest objection, but the Shintoists looked upon the new teaching with no particular concern. Meanwhile the early Christian converts showed great zeal as well as intelligence and at times they took the offensive as against the older religions. In the spread of the Christian faith the part taken by the leading pioneer missionaries deserves deep admiration. Some of them, it is true, had more zeal than wisdom, tact or prudence. Not a few were despatched to the country who had no idea of Oriental thought or history. They came with an intellectual equipment fit only for work among the savage tribes of Africa. In course of time, however, the weaker brethren were weeded out and the better qualified remained.

The field in which Christian missionaries have proved of most use and influence is that of education. This is especially true in the case of American and English missions. The demand for the English language was great in the early days of Meiji. To the missionaries themselves, that was the best method of introducing among Japanese youths a knowledge of the Christian religion through the Bible.

In evaluating the service of Christian teachers, I should

like to call your attention to what I said in the first lecture concerning the keen power of perception of the Japanese. I remarked then that they are ever ready to distinguish the genuine from the spurious in human character. A Japanese congregation would easily grade the mental and moral calibre of their foreign leaders, and, once trusted by his flock, the shepherd was rewarded by a faithful following. Fortunately for the cause of Christianity the missionaries were, on the whole, men of sincere devotion and transparent character, which told more than intellectual parts. Their success was due to this fact rather than to any other. Except, perhaps, in the English language, the schools they started did not offer greater advantages than did the native institutions, but the teacher's personal influence was much more marked.

Especially was this the case in the education of women. In fact the education of girls may be said to have been started by the missionaries. In this field the Japanese themselves lagged behind. The government followed in the path of the missionaries. In kindergarten work, too, the missionaries opened the way.

Next to their educational work, Christian missionaries in Japan must be credited with the initiation of voluntary social welfare work. I shall not dilate upon the demands made upon the rather scanty purse of missionaries or upon the liberality they have shown in the midst of their own privations. But the Christian institutions of relief—day-nurseries, maternity houses, homes for the helpless,

hospitals, work in slums, etc.—even if they do not equal the present-day public institutions in scope or number, may at least be given honor in two respects: for pioneering effort, and for the spiritual element they have infused into their work, a quality notoriously wanting in bureaucratic activities.

III

Education and social work, however, are but accessories to the scheme of Oriental evangelization. But here I tread upon debatable ground. The relative merits of various religious confessions, not to speak of religious sects, is a subject I am in no position to discuss. This much can be said, that denominationalism has been tried and found wanting. Christians may take for their motto, "United we stand, divided we fall." Particularly is this the case in questions where all sects are agreed, as for example, social welfare, higher education, and work among rural communities. There the field is broad, varied and needy. It is, therefore, a most encouraging sign that churches are at least talking of uniting.

But more important than union is the change in the whole orientation of mission work. Quite recently a number of mission boards, supporting 10,000 missionaries in the Far East, have sent some of the ablest Christian laymen to the field to study the situation and their report is now being published.

In view of the growth of nationalism in China and

Japan, of the intellectual attainment of Eastern peoples, and of the changes in the interpretation of Christianity in the West, the fundamental conception of the object and method of missions is likely to be revised. Instead of merely instructing the "benighted heathen," Western Christians whose souls, in the words of a hymn, "were lighted from on high" are henceforth to adopt the principle of mutual exchange and sharing of views with oriental minds. This new conception is surely and truly a Christian one. As one of your greatest poets says :

"Not what we give, but what we share,
For the gift without the giver is bare."

The religion of Christ will itself be enriched by an Oriental interpretation. There is an eastern door in His temple through which the West has not yet looked, much less entered. Through this portal of *aivaré* and *nasaké*, we enter the temple built by the Man of Sorrows and when we find within Joy and not Pleasure, Blessing and not Happiness, Wisdom and not Knowledge, Selflessness and not Self-expression, we feel that we have risen a step higher in the evolution of the human race.

CHAPTER XI

JAPANESE POETRY

In order to disillusion my hearers, if they are generous enough to entertain any illusion of anticipated interest in my lecture this evening, to which I have given the title Japanese Poetry, I wish to state why I have chosen this subject.

Poetry is usually defined as the art of expressing in melodious words, thoughts which are the creations of fancy and imagination. If this definition is accepted in a strict sense, poetry, for which I am using the term *uta*, does not exist in Japan. Yet you say, "There does not exist a people that has no poetry." So say we also. One of our poets has written, "The birds singing among the trees, the insects chirping in the grass and the frogs croaking in the water are all repeating poems." If we had more sensitive ears or if we could command certain wavelengths, we might certainly hear the music of the spheres. Thus considered, poetry is not an art in the sense that it is opposed to nature. It is art only in the sense of being a voluntary act of man; and in this voluntary act of singing under poetic inspiration, man's will plays such a small part that it is almost involuntary, that is, natural.

Uta literally means song, being a noun derived from the verb *uta-u*, to sing, that is to express one's feeling in

is not philosophy. To write a philosophical treatise in verse is like building a house with paper instead of wood and putting it together with pins instead of nails. There are delicate sentiments that are best expressed in a very few words, words that suggest by association or by sound more than dictionaries assign to them. For example, by the use of homonyms, words that have the same sound but different meanings, we can express the state of our mind while the words used contain no psychological implication. Take the word *matsu*, which when used as a noun means the pine-tree, but, used as a verb means to wait. A lover wandering among pine-trees can slyly appoint a rendezvous in a grove. It is like saying in English, "My heart pineth for thee". *Kawa* in Japanese is river. *Kawaru* is to change. It does not require great poetical genius to sing of a stream, when what is really meant is change. Homonyms are naturally amphibological, that is, they are ambiguous and equivocal. *Yasashii* may mean either meek or easy; *kaku* may denote to write or to scratch; *omoi*, thought or heavy weight.

You can infer from what I have said that there is plenty of space for punning or play upon words, and this cheap kind of wit not infrequently mars the beauty of a poem.

II

Having looked at the construction of the *uta*, I wish to proceed to the favorite themes of our poets, and here I do not feel much elation in saying that brevity precludes

any elaboration of an event or elucidation of an idea. Indeed it does not allow space for a great subject. There would scarcely be room for an *uta* about Ossian's "great revolving orb whose glorious rays illumine the boundless space", but there are thousands of verses about the moon. When the Milky Way is the motif, its size is reduced to the dry bed of a stream. The sentiments most often expressed are of a tender and delicate nature. Anthologies classify their collections under the heading of the four seasons of the year ; then, inevitably come love-poems, and verses of congratulation or of condolence.

From the large number of poems written on the varying aspects of nature, particularly on the flowers and birds in spring and summer, on the moon and insects in autumn, on the snow and mountains in winter, on the streams and clouds, you may rightly judge that the Japanese are keen to perceive the smallest objects and their detail. You will also notice that by describing an outward object they utter an inner thought of which they will seldom speak in prose. It is often tantalizing to be given just a glimpse of what is lurking within. All manner of rhetorical figures were applied in using the thirty-one syllable vehicle for the conveyance of emotions. Sometimes the *uta* is no more than a finger-sign pointing, as it were, at an object ; or it may be a mere ejaculation. It is a revelation of what psychologists call the tone of a feeling.

Uta, which originally was meant to be sung and which appealed to the ear, came in course of time to be written

the fact that it is a translation of a passage from a Buddhist sutra. The man who composed it, popularly believed to be Kobo Daishi, deserves all praise for ingeniously using forty-seven syllables without repeating a single one.

The rules of Japanese prosody are extremely simple; as it does not require rhyme or the measure of syllables. The main peculiarity lies in the alternate lines of seven and five syllables. Why this monotonous arrangement appeals to our ears as musical is still an open question, and different theories are being advanced as to the effect of this rhythm. I have as yet seen no conclusion of the experiments which are being tried on the ear and on the vocal organs. There must be a scientific reason for the adoption of this arrangement, which has continued unaltered among us from prehistoric times and the mere chanting of these numbers exercises a soothing effect upon us.

Another important requirement of our prosody is that no vulgar or alien word should be used. Being a peculiar mode of expressing Japanese sentiments, the choice of words is confined to the approved antique vocabulary. Hence when one wishes to write a verse about new inventions which did not exist in olden times, he has to invent new terms out of simpler archaic words. For example, for railways, he would say "the road of iron", but as even *tetsu* (iron) is not exactly archaic, it should be "black metal." For telegraphy some expression like "a message over the thread of metal" is adopted. Modern improve-

ments have placed Japanese poets under a severe test of purism. It was said that even in ancient times our poets were greatly disturbed that there was no native name for the chrysanthemum, *kiku*, the word in use being of Chinese origin. A complaint is made by modern poets that it is impossible to sing about the "tulip". There is no exact sound of "tu" or of "l" in our language, and as to "p", though the sound was common ages ago, the race has for some reason outlived it and it remains only in vulgar dialects. Fortunately, "cosmos" is possible of incorporation in our poetry.

Technically, then, the rules for composing a poem are easy enough: choose classic words and write in lines alternately of seven and five syllables. If we observe these two rules, we can write to any length. But from the very beginning of poetical composition, dating back to the dawn of our history, the favorite length of a poem was limited to five lines of 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllables—altogether thirty-one syllables. Let me repeat it: The typical Japanese poem, called *uta* or *tanka*, consists of only thirty-one syllables, which may form not more than a dozen words. Of these five lines the first three form what is called the upper hemistich and the last two the lower hemistich.

I hope I have said enough to emphasize the brevity of our poem, for therein lies no small significance. You cannot narrate a long story. There is therefore, no epic worthy of the name. You cannot philosophize. Poetry

rhythmic intonation.

The Japanese are notoriously bad mixers. They are reticent, reserved. They are even said to be "mysterious." Sometimes they carry their reserve to the verge of uncanniness. Whether this is the result of a long period of seclusion, of insularity, of some ethnical detachment, or of an excessive emphasis put upon propriety of conduct and consequent dread of familiarity, we do not know. But the fact remains that the Japanese people, highly emotional and prone to be stirred by offense or by kindness, live under constant restraint. *Uta* is an escape from this restraint. It is a safety valve for pent-up feeling. It is the gushing forth of a fountain. Hence it is an expression of natural feeling, a feeling that a self-restrained person can not easily voice in ordinary speech. It is called the Way of Yamato, Yamato being an archaic name for Japan.

Uta, then, is a method whereby the Yamato race put into words their feelings and yearnings. It furnishes a peep-hole through which you can get a glimpse of the Japanese mind. It is for this purpose, and not for the study of the art of Japanese poetics, that I wish to devote an hour to the consideration of our poetry, and in doing so, I shall speak, (1) of our simple rules of prosody; (2) of the favorite subject matter for *uta*; (3) of some examples in English translations made by competent authorities; and (4) of the more condensed and epigrammatic form of poetical art known as *hokku*, or

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for the enjoyment of literary taste. Naturally it was most in vogue among the educated leisure class, among whom it took the place of amatory epistles.

III

I must not forget that I am not addressing students of Japanese prosody, but an audience interested in the broader aspects of Japanese culture. For such, a few examples from out of an unlimited collection may be of interest. I shall take a few typical pieces translated by some of the best English translators, chiefly by Aston, Chamberlain, and Waley. Comparing them with the original, a Japanese may well be proud of the concise expressiveness of his language. I have purposely selected the tersest translations, and yet how many more words and syllables it takes to render into English a thought epigrammatically uttered in thirty-one syllables composed of possibly a dozen words !

Here are three pieces I have selected from *The Collection of a Myriad Leaves*, our oldest anthology, compiled in the 8th century. A very ancient ode, that one might find in a Hebrew psalm runs thus :

“ Mountains and ocean-waves
 Around me lie ;
For ever the mountain-chains
 Tower to the sky ;
Fixed is the ocean
 Immutably :—

Man is a thing of nought,
Born but to die ! ”

Here is an affectionate parental outburst with which the most modern writer might feel in accord :

“ Ne'er a melon can I eat,
 But calls to mind my children dear ;
Ne'er a chestnut crisp and sweet,
 But makes the lov'd ones seem more near.
Whence did they come my life to cheer ?
 Before mine eyes they seem to sweep,
So that I may not even sleep.”

A piece entitled “ Rain and Snow ” is at heart the eternal confession of a lover :

“ For ever on Mikane's crest,
 That soars so far away,
The rain it rains in ceaseless sheets,
 The snow it snows all day.
And ceaseless as the rain and snow
 That fall from heaven above,
So ceaselessly, since first we met,
 I love my darling love.

Just to give you an impression how the lines and the arrangement of words run, I will take a very close literal rendering by Mr. Aston of an old *uta*. It was composed by a nobleman who was exiled to a distant island. As he gazed for the last time on his favorite tree, the *umé*, this is what he wrote:

“ Idete inaba
 Nushi naki yado to

“ When I am gone away,
 Masterless my dwelling

Narino tomo Though it become—
 Nokiba no ume yo Oh ! plum tree by the eaves,
 Haru wo wasuruna." Forget not thou the spring."

Mr. Aston has performed a feat in portraying the nuance of the original words of a forlorn lover who watched throughout a night in spring until the moon went down, waiting in vain for his beloved. He thought of many a spring evening spent with her in the moonlight. It runs thus :

" Tsuki ya ! aranu : " Moon ? There is none.
 Haru ya ! mukashi no Where are spring's wonted
 flowers ?
 Haru naranu : I see not one.
 Waga mi hitotsu wa All else is changed, but I
 Moto no mi ni shite." Love on unalteringly."

Next I shall give you some samples from a collection called *Kokinshū*, made in 905 A.D.

A man looks at a flock of wild geese far up in the sky and his thoughts follow them to an unknown shore :

" Heedless that now the mists of spring do rise,
 Why fly the wild-geese northward ?—Can it be
 Their native home is fairer to their eyes,
 Though no sweet flowers blossom on its lea ? "

The following is written by a priest, impressed by the lotus growing in slime but nevertheless bearing a flower of exquisite beauty and purity :

" Oh, lotus-leaf ! I dreamt that the wide earth
 Held nought more pure than thou,—nought more true :
 Why, then, when on thee rolls a drop of dew,
 Pretend that 'tis a gem of priceless worth ? "

The moon is one of the favorite subjects for poets, poetasters and poeticules, and it is an inspiration to thousands of them, and so thus :

“A thousand thoughts of tender vague regret
Crowd on my soul, what time I stand and gaze
On the soft-shining autumn moon ;—and yet
Not to me only speaks her silv’ry haze.”

This is typical of a shy damsel, or a reserved youth, who can be found in other countries than Japan :

“Methinks my tenderness the grass must be,
Clothing some mountain desolate and lone ;
For though it daily grows luxuriantly,
To ev’ry mortal eye ’tis still unknown.”

I am very fond of the next one which reveals faithfulness to old love, and the sentiment can be extended to friends who have quarreled, to old institutions which have disappeared, or to old books that have their charms :

“What though the waters of that ancient rill
That flows along the heath no more are cold ;
Those who remember what it was of old
Go forth to draw them in their buckets still.”

But of all the poems that express depth of feeling, the following lines by General Nogi make strongest appeal to me. You may or may not know that he was in command of the Japanese forces at Port Arthur during the Russo-Japanese War. He not only lost both his sons in that war but he agonized in spirit over the many young lives sacrificed in taking 203 Meter Hill. Circumstances connected with the erection of a monument in

memory of those who had fallen in battle one day brought General Nogi to my house. Now I knew that it was contrary to his practice to give his autograph excepting to the wives and mothers of the slain ; but something in our conversation led me to make the request. To my joy he acceded to this. When, a few minutes later, he handed to me a poem, there were tears in his eyes, but his words were lightly and apologetically spoken : "These are just a few lines I wrote the other day. I haven't yet shown them to my teacher. There are probably mistakes in them."

What were these lines ?

" What I swore in my heart
 Never to utter—
 How can I hide it from thy face
 O Moon ! "

I give them in unpoetic form, but do you need more words to help you understand that lonely, sorrowing Soul who afterwards went forth to meet his Emperor upon the Way ?

I have selected two out of many which have a humorous vein :

" Old Age is not a friend I wish to meet ;
 And if some day to see me he should come,
 I'd lock the door as he walk'd up the street,
 And cry, " Most honour'd sir ! I'm not at home ! "

" Beneath love's heavy weight my faint'ring soul
 Plods, like the packman, o'er life's dusty road.

Oh ! that some friendly hand would find a pole
To ease my shoulders of their grievous load ! ”

IV

Poetry was long turned into an intellectual amusement in the palaces of the great. In the Emperor's Court it was at times almost a daily pastime. Poetical license in high places meant not only some liberty allowed in the use of the technique, but it also meant more freedom of speech. The Emperor wrote several poems daily in which he spoke his mind freely, untrammelled by the conventionalities of his position. He could speak in verse as father, artist, teacher.

Even now, there is held in the Court a poetical contest. In November there is given out a subject for the so-called New Year's Poem, and anybody, even the humblest subject, can send in his or her production. Usually about twenty thousand send their verses, out of which about twenty are chosen and read with due ceremony in the presence of the Emperor and other members of the Imperial family and a few invited guests. The next day's papers announce the names and poems of the winners of the honor. Such news is awaited by the public, if not with as much enthusiasm as the result of a presidential campaign is awaited here, at least with more enthusiasm than is a football game.

I have said that poetry was cultivated in high places as an art. Under culture the Muse deteriorates, but it

has disseminated widely poetic endeavor. As early as the 9th century a poetical tournament was a favorite pastime in the Court. A common game on such occasions was what is known as *renga*, linking of the two hemistiches, of which I have spoken. Someone writes one of the two hemistiches, and another completes the poem. For instance, a man composed the second half:

“How I would cut it
But I could not.”

and presented it to his companions. Three men added the first hemistich in different ways. The first wrote as a father wavering between justice and mercy :

“At night a thief was caught,
And when the light was brought
He proved to be my son—.”

A second person was very matter-of-fact and added :

“By a sad mishap great harm
Was done to my left arm
Followed by pain intolerable.”

The third man was more sentimentally inclined :

“Under a spreading plum tree I stood
And as at the autumn moon I looked,
Her lucid face was hid by a graceful branch.”

The *renga* serves still a delightful means of exchanging thoughts. A friend of mine lay sick for a long time. He felt despondent. Early one morning as he looked from his sick room and saw the procession of passers-by hurrying to their work, he thought of the dew-drops on the

wayside which they thoughtlessly brushed away as they walked. He felt melancholy and wrote :

“ Brushed by the hastening feet,
The pearls of dew
Are strewn by the wayside.”

When these lines were sent to his friend they were returned with the second hemistich :

“ So scattered, they add
Fragrance to the air.”

A little later on, the sick man became more hopeful. He felt resigned and thought of his age—he was 35 years old—as being midway of his life. He decided that he might take a rest and in the meantime cultivate his thought, as he could not do any active work. He wrote,—

“ Half-way on the journey of life
I rest a while, to gaze
At those soaring peaks.”

When this hemistich was shown to his friend, the following was added :

“ Waiting the meanwhile
For the moon hid behind the clouds.”

In speaking of the *renga* I had another object than merely to explain what it is. That short, pithy, epigrammatic form of versification which is called *haiku* or *hokku* is a development, or in its morphology an arrested growth, of *renga*, because *hokku* is really the first hemistich, consisting of three lines of 5, 7, 5 syllables, 17 syllables in all, containing rarely more than ten words, often indeed only

half a dozen.

Hokku is called the Literature of seasons, because its special characteristic is an allusion directly or indirectly to the seasons of the year. The allusion may be made by the mention of a plant or an animal, or of snow, a seasonal rain or wind. This form of prosody was perfected by Basho, a man of the most refined taste and noble character, who lived at the end of the 17th century and left many verses which are held immortal. Most of them are enigmatic, cryptical. Some few can be understood even by a novice like myself. I like the one he jotted down on a trip to the North-East, when he visited an old battlefield :

“The summer grass !
‘Tis all that’s left
Of ancient warriors’ dreams.”

But the best known piece defies all attempts at translation. Literally it runs :

“An old pond—
A frog jumps in—
A splash of water.”

This singular verse of four nouns and one adjective and one verb, is said to contain the philosophy of Basho..

An old pond, aye, an old pond overgrown with rushes, with stagnant water. None visits this dismal place. Uncanny creatures creep and play in it. The silence is broken of a sudden. What is it? Only an ugly toad jumped in !

Man's life is not much different. An empty body of clay. It makes a noise ; it moves. A vital force enters. The whole idea is pessimistic and Buddhistic.

A nation's life is no better. What is this din that we hear—revolutions, resolutions, rebellions and what not? Into an old oozy pond of a national frame leaps some new element, not with healing in its wings, but with a reptilian poison in its bosom.

xi. 3. 1932.

CHAPTER XII

FAMILY LIFE IN JAPAN

More than once in the course of these lectures have I asked you to remember that in an old country, particularly where the people lived for centuries in seclusion, ancestral traditions or ghosts as I called them, have a strong hold upon the popular imagination and behavior. It is for this reason that in treating any subject we must cast a glance backward and see how institutions and ideas started and developed.

This afternoon in speaking of Japanese family life I must allude, (1) to the beginning of the family system, and then (2) to the family as it exists to-day; and to the probable effects of this transition period upon future usages.

I

According to our legend, when the god and the goddess who brought forth the islands of Japan and their inhabitants first met each other at the foot of a tall pillar, the goddess exclaimed, "What a handsome youth!" But the god resented the forwardness of a female person speaking first. It was not seemly to accost a stranger and he told her therefore that they should go around the pillar again after which he would, like a gentleman, propose

first. This done, the two were joined in wedlock and afterwards begot lands and people.

This was the foundation of the Japanese race, started, if not in Japan, at least in the land of its origin, be that in Sumeria or at the foot of Fuji or anywhere else. What did walking around the pillar mean? What was the pillar itself? Some might think it was a totem pole, and a walk around it significant of assent on the part of a tribe.

The same legend speaks of the passing of the goddess into the underworld, and that, as she was leaving her husband, she requested him not to look at her again. But after many days he visited Hades and when he peeped into her chamber she was so withered and ugly that he fled in horror from the sight of her. Indignant at the exposure of her repulsive appearance, she chased him for a long distance. During this pursuit she cursed her husband and exclaimed that she would kill one thousand of his progeny, whereupon he retorted that for every one thousand she killed, he would give birth to one thousand five hundred.

I shall go no further with this quaint narrative. I have related this much to show that the first marriage did not end very happily, and the reason seems to have been the curiosity of the man and the anger of the woman at being seen when she had not finished her toilet! An amusing point in the narrative is the relative number of births and deaths. I am a little bit ashamed to say that our birth

and death rates still remain in the same ratio—the birth rate being roughly 30 per mille of population and the death rate 20 per mille.

We are not enlightened by the legend as to how these first progenitors lived or what kind of dwelling they had. Did they live in a cave, or among trees, or in a dugout? Not unlikely they were lake-dwellers, having their hut built on piles planted in the water, in order to be out of the reach of wild animals. Some shrines are still so built. If we have no means of knowing how or in whose house the couple lived, we have some reason to suppose that some six generations later, at the time of the so-called Sun Goddess, the ancestress of our Ruling Family, matriarchy was well established. Property and power were inherited by the female and not by the male line. Such being the case, we can surmise, not without some hint from the legend itself, that marriage was matrilocal, that is to say, that the bride stayed in her parent's house and the bridegroom left his parental home to live with her.

I must add that such is my idea, and I hope that some day it may be proved by competent archæologists.

In a matriarchal family the position of woman cannot be low, and we have no proof that it was low in the dawn of our history. The way she was courted and the way she responded, as shown in the oldest songs, *A Myriad Leaves*, to which I referred in my lecture on poetry, gives us an impression that she enjoyed a great deal of freedom. Even in historic times, we have had a large

number of female rulers, and as to the part woman played in literature, the Hei-an period (10th and 11th centuries) may be appropriately called, as Dr. Florenz has done, the period of feminine authorship.

' It seems strange to me, to my unsophisticated mind, that at the age when women played such a prominent part in intellectual pursuits and pastimes, and behaved like equals with men, their influence on the moral tone of the age was not considerable. Instead of purifying society, morally, they seem to have depraved it the more by making vice more refined. Where one looks most for Platonic love, there one finds it least. I confess, to be very frank, skepticism in regard to the elevating influence of women resulting from raising their status. As far as the moral manners of a society are concerned, is not a primitive society purer, or even a feudal society where woman's legal status is low? Is it not frequently true that the acquisition of rights means the abuse of rights? But I am too old-fashioned to discuss such a question, especially in this country. It will be safer for me to stay at home in a Japanese family.

In a former lecture I had occasion to speak of our ancient family or clan system, the *uji*. The picture of a family presented to us at the earliest period of our history is that of a family community like the slavic *zadruga*, all the members related by consanguinity, sharing the same roof. In some remote villages we have still a few survivals of the system.

I have explained in the lecture on the Feudal System how the culture of the Heian Period succumbed to the military power, and gave way to feudalism. This event brought about some radical changes in political and social institutions and in moral ideas. A life of ease in a luxurious capital with occasional attention to religious ceremonies was no longer considered ideal. Soft raiments and exchange of amatory poems came to be despised. Decorative or ornamental women were despised. A sterner view of life came to prevail. Men in arms won more respect than those in flowing garb. Women of Amazonian temper were prized and praised. They were trained for work in the kitchen, in the home and in the battlefield, instead of for palaces and clubs, if there were any such social centers.

One might think that the status of woman sank low; but I should say that of the family rose. It may be that woman, as a person and as an individual, lost her status, but as a part of the family she gained. I can very well understand that the individualism of the West will look upon such a change as deterioration, but the communalism of the East regards it as an advance. Woman, by merging her existence in that of a larger entity, the family, adds more to its life and its welfare than by living a life of her own. By renunciation does she serve best and save herself. This is what made the family ideal so strong. This is what made the mother the hidden but powerful factor in our national life.

II

Our idea of family relations is vertical, and not horizontal as is yours. They are conceived as continuous in terms of time. We respect a family tree. I say again that the dead reign, the ghosts hold sway over us. That is why father and mother have first consideration. They, on their part, have ever in their mind the continuity of the family, and hence the thought of the younger generation predominates in their mind. The result is the solidarity of the family. This is the principle, though when it is applied in practice, it does not always work out smoothly. The children may not agree with their parents; the parents may not approve of innovations. The proverbial disagreement between the mother and the daughter-in-law is as true in the East as in the West. Mothers-in-law are a perpetual subject of gossip. *Das weibliche* is not only eternal in time but universal in space.

The custom of young couples living in the same house with their parents naturally aggravates the proverbial situation, and though in the well-to-do classes, and particularly in cities, this custom is less and less followed, it is still the rule throughout the country. What tears it must cost young wives! More and more tears must flow now as time and education advance. Why? Until education became general, both boys and girls were married at an earlier age. Until two generations ago, the most appropriate age for girls to marry was considered

to be about eighteen. If they were not wedded then, mothers became anxious. It was not at all uncommon to see girls of sixteen and even fourteen married. As to young men, they used to marry between 22 and 24. Old bachelors were suspected of being deformed or maimed, and old spinsters of being accursed by fate.

During the feudal age the matrilocal system, to which I have referred, was entirely supplanted by the patrilocal system, and the wife brought into the house of her husband to live, taking his name, and losing her identity in his family. Girls married early and when brought into a family at a tender and pliable age, were naturally more easily bred into the usages and traditions of the new surroundings, and their mothers-in-law could train them with less trouble. The domestication process was accomplished with less friction. Not so at present, because the average age of marriage has gone up, about 20 to 22 for women and 26 to 28 for men. Moreover, these young women have been brought up to respect, as they call it, their own personality. Instead of the old-fashioned training which made girls regard themselves as humble instruments of their fathers and husbands, the modern young ladies look upon themselves as having a special mission of their own, which they can not accomplish through their husbands or families. If this statement is a little too strong, it expresses at least the general tendency. It is the acknowledgment of this inevitable tendency that is making it more common for younger people to live in

homes of their own, apart from their parents.

The effect of this practice upon the solidarity of the family system is evident. It is the first wedge in the weakening, if not the general disintegration, of the family, and the disintegration is further aided by another factor in the life of the nation.

The advance in the means of communication, particularly of railways, has widened the field of activity, and young men are no more held down to the soil of their birth-places. Formerly, to leave the land of one's ancestral tombs was thought an unfilial act. Now-a-days, young men who do not budge from their small country places are looked down upon. The concentration of students in Tokyo and in a lesser degree in other large cities is a new phenomenon, and its effect upon the disintegration of the family is obvious. Young men who have once been in Tokyo are averse to returning home. Girl students are also loath to come again under the restrictions of the parental roof. Not only students but young men of promise do not find congenial employment in the country. Rather than return to the humdrum of village life, they will seek positions overseas. They fail to attend family gatherings on anniversaries. They do not often see their relatives, and if they do, they feel superior to them. The old bond grows looser and looser. If the oldest son, from a sense of responsibility, does come back, or should he succeed to the family estate, the other children fly to all points of the compass, nor, unless depression and

unemployment land them in distress, will they ever consider a return to family restrictions. It is no wonder that fathers think the younger generation with its new standards is devoid of affection and gratitude. Only mothers insist on believing in their children's filial love. Having been for several decades engaged in educational work, and having come in intimate contact with the young, I can say with some degree of authority, that there is no stronger link between the old and new ideas than the mother, no surer mooring for a restless soul than a mother. I can relate case after case, from my own observation, of wayward youths and of model students, of rank-and-file politicians and of eminent statesmen of our country, whose chief concern and pleasure in life is the happiness of their mothers. To the people in general there is nothing so appealing as an affection that a child shows to its parents. The eternal feminine draws one most forcibly in the form of mother. The race is still unsophisticated enough to believe that motherhood is the highest duty and privilege of womankind.

The mother is the central figure around which the family gathers and from which it draws its inspiration. If a son disagrees with his father, it is the mother who reconciles. If brothers quarrel, the mother brings them together. If a daughter disgraces her father's name, the mother hides her shame. If a house goes to ruin, the mother props up the last pillar. She does all this, not because she has education or wisdom, tact or

sagacity, but because of her unselfish devotion, because she has no desire for herself, because she has slain self that her progeny may have life. That is an ideal of motherhood in Japan. I call it an ideal, not because it is not real, but because thousands of mothers strive for it and thousands of them attain it by instinct. Do not blame our women, therefore, for not taking a more active part in what is broadly described as the feminist movement, for the truth is that women in Japan are still, on the whole, preoccupied with the responsibilities of home.

Of the part the father plays in the family, I may say that it is largely in its support and general control. A man is expected to do work outside of home. In fact a man who is always staying at home is not highly respected outside or inside the family. An unemployed man, forced to be at home, loses his position in the home itself. A normal man in normal times spends a large part of the day, and many evenings as well, outside the family circle. He has, therefore, to leave the general management of the family to his wife. Everything relating to the house and family falls to her lot. Her boys, when beyond school age, are independent enough, but her daughters require constant care until they are married.

Free marriage and love-matches are also coming in with the general advancement, so-called; still the old custom of arranging the marriage continues. It is up to parents and their friends to find proper mates for the young. When suitable candidates for bride or bridegroom are

found, and the parents of both parties agree, the parties directly concerned are given occasions to see each other, for example at a garden party or a theatre. Bashful girls may not even look at their prospective husbands. When all are agreed, the arrangement is sealed by the exchange of gifts, which may consist of rolls of silk or even of money for wedding garments, and the friends of the two families meet at an appointed time and also offer gifts. Then a day is selected for the wedding.

All marriages are considered legitimate when they are registered in the office of the ward where the husband lives; no wedding ceremony is required by law. But it is usual to observe some form of ceremony for the sake of respectability. The old-fashioned ceremony is still in vogue, in which the bride is taken to the house of the groom, accompanied by her parents and the *nakōdo*, or go-betweens, who are usually a married couple whom both parties respect. The ceremony itself is simple, consisting of drinking, or rather sipping, *saké* from three cups interchangeably. Naturally, it is not just swallowing the beverage. Proper maidens, carefully selected, serve on the occasion. The idea of drinking together is to confirm the promise of draining the cup of joy and sorrow in their united life. The ceremony lasts perhaps half an hour. It is entirely a family affair. Not even friends are invited. It is completed sometimes by the go-between singing the old song of *Takasago*, which depicts the story of long nuptial life. The wedding is followed after a

few days by a banquet to which friends are invited. If we go into the details of a wedding it is not as simple an affair as I have described. In fact the complicated details, as for example, the selection of an auspicious day, the choice of go-betweens, and the selection of the gifts to be exchanged, are so onerous that the whole tendency is toward simplification. Christians solemnize the marriage ceremony in their churches. Some who do not care for an old custom or for a religious ceremony are married in private homes. The most popular custom at present is to be married in a Shinto shrine by a priest, who considers weddings peculiarly befitting his profession, in as much as the history of Japan began with the meeting of the God and Goddess on the High Plain of Heaven.

The principal reason why this form of wedding ceremony is becoming popular is the terrible expense of the old system. In some districts it is said that to marry a girl costs half a fortune. Agricultural societies have taken up the matter seriously and are making a thorough investigation of the expenses of a wedding. Of course these vary greatly according to local customs ; but, if I remember correctly, the lowest expense amounted to about one-third of the year's income, and in extreme instances to no less than three or four times the annual income. Of these expenses the trousseau forms by no means the chief item. The greatest part of the expenditure goes to the feasts before and after the event. Very sensibly, many a village has now fixed upon some arrangement whereby

much saving is effected.

In several villages the co-operative societies have taken the matter in hand and have made it a rule, that, irrespective of social classes, every family in membership with them shall celebrate its weddings in the office buildings of the society and that the bride and groom shall not use any other garments than those provided or rented them by the societies. In these villages much the same rules apply to funerals.

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CHAPTER XIII

COUNTRY LIFE IN JAPAN

Under this subject, I wish to present to you a few salient features of our agricultural conditions. From the title you may have possibly expected the portrayal of an idyllic life in a modern Acadia. Travelers who pass through Japan naturally get an impression of hard-working but a happy rural population. Old men look contented; young men smile at you; young women are singing as they work in the field.

I am sorry to draw a different picture, and I am confident that my picture is true to facts—sordid facts. I should have given another title to my lecture,—namely, agricultural condition in Japan. But as my interest is human and as I presume yours is too, I shall retain “Country Life” for my subject and relate to you :—

(1) the importance of agriculture both in olden times and at present; (2) the influence of the new industrial age on rural life; (3) the plight of the farmers at present; (4) some remedies proposed; and (5) I shall finally illustrate the seriousness of the present situation by an event that took place last spring.¹

¹ This last item is not included in this volume. Also, the manuscript for this lecture, especially for item (2), was incomplete, and had to be abbreviated.

abundance thanks to the mountainous character of the land and to a moist climate. And if we can get access to the iron mines and some other sources of raw material in Manchuria, we may be better able to pursue the only way of national subsistence, namely, industrialization. But, as yet, agriculture is the greatest asset of our national wealth. It is Japan's greatest industry.

Look at the total wealth of the nation. The calculation of national wealth is notoriously difficult and gives varying results, but, though it varies from year to year, we may still get some figures which give us an idea of the total wealth. A careful estimate made by the Statistical Bureau for 1924, gives as the total of the nation's wealth as 102,341,000,000 yen. This sum is not at great variance, when we make allowance for the difference in the years when the estimate was made, with the sums given by the American Bankers' Trust and by some British authorities, such as Bowley and Stamp.¹

Out of roughly 100 billions given above, over one-third is the value of land which is mainly agricultural fields, while mines form only one-thirtieth. The annual output of agriculture forms about three per cent. and that of manufacture only two per cent. of the total wealth.

Of some five and one-half million families engaged in farming, notwithstanding the fact that their number remains stationary, about 30 per cent. cultivate their own land, and 28 per cent. do not own any land but eke out

¹ See below, p. 233.

their living as tenants. The rest, or about 40 per cent., are owners of patches too small to engage their entire labor and hence they also rent some plots. The comparatively large proportion of peasant proprietors is due to the agrarian reform brought about at the time of the Restoration. Under feudalism, the lords owned nominally and legally all the land, and the actual tillers of the soil were tenants, or rather *adscripti glebae*. When the nominal proprietors were bought out of their fiefs, the cultivators were left in possession of their tenancies. Their rights were confirmed by title deeds, with the condition that they should pay taxes to the newly constituted central government, instead of making payment to their immediate lords, in kind, as they used to do. This summary reform, which historians point to as being as bold and beneficent as that of Stein and Hardenberg in Prussia, marks an epoch in the economic development of New Japan, for it meant the inauguration of the money economy in lieu of the natural.

II

The five and one-half million agricultural families spend their labor on 15 million acres of arable land. This means that a peasant family, averaging some five souls, cultivates a plot of some three acres.¹ As half, and in some districts

¹ As regards the distribution of arable land, or size of the farm, an insertion in the manuscript says:—"nearly 70 per cent. have a holding below this average ($\frac{2}{3}$ acres). Of the rest about 22 per cent. cultivate farms of 3 or 4 acres and but one per cent. of the entire agricultural community till farms above 12 acres."

I

As under the régime of national isolation and self-sufficiency the supply of food was the primary aim of statesmanship, agriculture was fostered with care and the toil of peasants lauded. Ancient tradition was made to lend its influence to confirm the divine origin and sanctity of agriculture. Rulers found early that those engaged in it were naturally most accustomed to hard toil and inured to the inclemencies of weather, and so made the best of fighting stuff. They were valued, too, for their solidity and stolidity of character and for their conservative temperament.

Of all the various occupations, agriculture has traditionally been the most important, the most useful, and the most dignified. In former times, the people were divided according to the public utility of their services into the following classes : warriors, farmers, artizans and merchants. As did the physiocratic school of political economists, the statesmen and philosophers of Asia taught that agriculture was the only productive industry, and those engaged in it feed the rest of the nation. This was literally true under the feudal régime when local autonomy was kept up and when there was no foreign commerce. The respect for the agricultural class was, however, only theoretical. In practice it was the worst treated. Similarly, the disdain for merchants, especially rich merchants, was only theoretical, for they enjoyed not only opulence,

but the largest share of liberty.

With the passing of natural economy and the growth of foreign trade, agriculture in Japan, as everywhere else, is fast losing its prestige, and, when measured in terms of dollars and cents, its importance is sinking lower. Despite this tendency, however, agriculture in Japan is still the economic backbone of the nation, employing about half the nation, who form the most stable and sober class of the population. For this reason provision was made in our Constitutional system for the representation of the large landed interests in the House of Peers.

Judged by the decreasing proportion of her agricultural population and by the increasing amount of food imported into the country, Japan is obviously becoming an industrial nation. What else can she be, when the whole area of Japan proper is only 147,651 square miles, or 94,500,000 acres, and the country is so mountainous that only 15 or possibly 20 per cent. can be brought under the plow, and when her population is 65,000,000 and increasing at the rate of some 800,000 a year?

The people are ingenious and deft with their hands, quick in movement, industrious in habit, artistic in taste. They can make a good and efficient industrial nation. The greatest obstacles in the way of progress in manufacturing lie in the poverty of raw materials. There is very little coal, less iron and still less oil. Perhaps at no very distant future the lack of energy-resources will be largely supplied by water-power, which we have in

the whole, of this plot is an irrigated paddy-field for rice which can be converted into a dry field for winter crops, the arable ground is usually made to yield two crops in one year, and in some particularly favored localities, as many as three. Laborious as such a system of cultivation is, three acres do not absorb all the hands of a family. In consequence of the low standard of living, it can support itself on three acres' produce, but it must have five to ten acres to utilize rationally all its labor. There is thus a surplus of labor in the rural districts, or, what amounts to the same thing, there is a dearth of land.

For this reason is agricultural land valued at an enormously high price. It is out of all proportion to its productive capacity. Sentiment is a great factor in the anomaly. There is no greater source of pride for a peasant than to become the owner of a patch of ground. In two or three provinces famed for the large number of emigrants to America, there are localities where land brings fabulous prices. The poor tenants who left these districts and made some money in Hawaii or California return to their villages and buy little farms, possibly the very ones on which their fathers and grandfathers slaved and paid high rents. In such cases it is not by the calculation of profit that purchase is made, but they set a standard of prices which are prohibitive to those who would pursue farming as a business.

This desire to possess land is by no means confined to the returned emigrants. It is a universal desire of those who

live in a country where the feudal notions of respect are connected with landholding. These notions are not mere relics of feudalism. If they were, they would wax weaker with the younger generations. But, aside from the social prestige of owning land, there are political privileges connected with it. The land tax is one of the most important revenues of the state, and local rates are assessed on landed property. Though, with the introduction of universal suffrage, the greatest political privilege of taxpayers has disappeared, there are still some rights attached to landownership or to the taxpayers, which lead every denizen of the countryside to look upon land as a source of rights and respect.

Farming has naturally attained a very high degree of intensivity, not only in respect to the labor devoted to it, but also to the capital invested in the form of seeds, fertilizers, irrigation, and so forth. For machinery and animals there is but little invested. It would be impossible to employ modern machinery on microscopic, "dwarf", as the Germans say, farms. Where the lay of the land renders it possible, an ingenious device has been adopted of adjusting small parcels by eliminating their multitudinous partitions and making new divisions in regular shapes, thus substituting straight lines for tortuous boundaries, and by regulating water courses. This process has increased the yield by 10 to 15 per cent.

Every device is resorted to for the increase of cultivable area as well as of its fertility. The margin of cultivation

has been steadily extending in the last four or five decades, at the rate of about half a per cent. a year. Thanks to general education, to the widely spread agricultural schools and societies, and to co-operation, a rational method of fertilization has made rapid progress, with the result that a great quantity of "cash manures"—chiefly bean-cakes, sulphate of ammonia, nitrates and phosphates—are yearly imported to the amount of 200,000,000 yen sterling. The annual consumption of nitrogenous fertilizers amounts to 400,000 tons, of which the country supplies less than fifty per cent. This enormous import of fertilizers—the second largest item in the list of imports, the first being raw cotton—is necessitated by the fact that the home supply of manure falls short of half the demand. It has to be recalled that stock farming has never been a thriving business in Japan.

For the immense application of labor and fertilizers what result has our agriculture to show? The average yield of nearly every crop has advanced in quality and quantity, conformably with the scientific knowledge bestowed upon it. Utmost use is made of the natural powers of land and air—barring still the electrical. Japanese peasants have to a very appreciable extent forestalled Premier Mussolini's "battle of grain."

The latest record in the cultivation of rice is the monster crop of 170 bushels per acre (8.4 koku per tan), obtained by the application of 272 days of labor and 30 pounds of chemical manures consisting of bean-cakes, guano,

phosphates, potash, etc. Enthusiasts are already prophesying the output of 200 bushels in a year or two. At present, the average for the whole country is 40 bushels per acre. Suppose we should fall far short of the ideal and get only 80—the much vexed food question will more than be solved. It seems as though we were defying the static law of diminishing returns, which one may dub by a newer name, "the law of factorial proportion." The two factors, namely the constantly improving technique and the steadily decreasing resources, are ever at odds, and their relations are guided by other factors, such as population and prices. Japanese agriculture is likely to show the limit of this law as applied to rice culture; but man, even the Japanese, does not live by rice alone. It is possible that the study of our dietary system may bring about the partial substitution of rice by other cereals.

III

Japan, though small, stretches from 31 to 46 degrees north latitude, which is the distance from the head of the Gulf of California to Portland. If we include Saghalien and Formosa, the whole Empire covers 28 degrees, from 22 to 50, that is 3000 miles, the distance from Havana to Winnipeg. She can naturally grow a variety of crops, but there is one important plant which she does not raise, and that is cotton. She imports quite regularly about 600,000,000 yen worth of raw cotton, this quantity being

almost equally divided between the United States and British India. Other vegetable fibres, such as hemp, flax and ramic are not grown in sufficient quantity at home, and so she is yearly importing them, mostly from China and the Philippine Islands.

With the opening of foreign trade, some crops that had been only by-products and regarded as a source of pin-money for the girls suddenly gained in importance. This was notable in the case of tea and silk. Indeed, the production of the latter, thanks to American demand for it, became the chief industry in many districts. Paddy-fields for rice were turned into mulberry fields in the last two decades. With this change, the peasants learned to speculate. They learned about American trade and about fluctuations of foreign exchange. Silk actually grew to be the most important article of foreign trade and it brought cash to the country-side.

It was lucrative in many ways, e.g. it brought in cash several times a year because there are five seasons in a year when cocoon crops can be had, giving lighter and longer employment to the women folks. A great market seemed assured in America. It appeared that she might consume any amount. Production increased at a rapid rate, reaching its climax in 1929, when 844,000,000 pounds of cocoons were obtained and the price of 38 cents per pound was maintained. In the last three years the price has fallen precipitously and last year it sank to seventeen cents. The gross production was reduced to 790,000,000

pounds.

The principal market for silk—chiefly in the form of raw silk—being the United States, business conditions there naturally affect the demand for this product. With slight exaggeration, it has been said that the American women have in their grip the fate of the Japanese farmers. Of the total consumption of raw silk in the United States, 87 per cent. (561,000 bales at 133 pounds) was supplied by Japan. The price usually is over five dollars per pound, but as has been said, it went down rapidly with the general depression, to which must be added competition with rayon, and in 1931 it was only two dollars and sixty-three cents. The significance of the decline in the silk trade is made still more clear by the fact that it is by far the most important article of export. In 1929, Japan sold some 415,000,000 dollars worth, mostly to the United States, and in 1931 it dropped to 200,000,000 dollars.

The two pillars by which the rural homestead is supported in Japan, the cultivation of rice and the raising of silk worms, have been sagging to the breaking point for the last three years because of the fall in price caused by trouble which lay abroad rather than at home.¹ Cities and industries have also been suffering. Foreign trade suddenly diminished from 4,606,000,000 yen in 1929 to 2,498,000,000 yen in 1931. Many large firms crashed and small shops succumbed. Some factories have closed

¹ See Nitobe, *Japan's Public Economy and Finance*, p. 20.

and those which persist in working have curtailed their production. Numberless offices discharged their clerks. The unemployed, numbering some 500,000—few as this may seem in comparison with the United States and other countries—have drifted in large numbers to villages and swelled the army of rural sufferers.

From what has been said, it must be clear that farmers, for the last four years, could live only by borrowing. They were told that better days were in store for them at no great distance, and they were encouraged in this hope by financiers and economists. Political parties made glowing promises, as though depression were a matter existing in Japan only, and could be cured by a few tricks of sleight of hand. When one party, the Minseito, advocated retrenchment in every way, prices went down and farmers complained. The opposition party assured the people of the revival of trade, if only it, the Seiyukai, got into power. In the last general election, therefore, the most catching slogan was the “Inukai Prosperity”. But Inukai and his party naturally could effect nothing against overwhelming world forces. It is said that a German economist has counted two hundred and seventy causes of world depression.

But the naïve farmers believed in the coming prosperity and lived by borrowing. On some 7,840,000 acres of paddy-fields, outstanding farm mortgages have amounted to about \$1,350,000,000. This means that each acre of rice land carries a funded debt of \$172.50, for which the

farmer pays interest at the usual rate of 11 per cent., about \$18.81. At this rate, supposing the average crop of rice per acre to be 38 bushels, the interest per bushel is just about 50 cents, which is one-fourth of the price of rice.

The above gives a general view of the agricultural situation. It must be observed that we have not attempted photographic accuracy in the calculation. Not all farmers are burdened with debt. There are other categories of land, such as mulberry fields, vegetable gardens, orchards and forests, that are mortgaged.

The latest and most accurate study of the question gives the total amount of the farmers' debts as amounting to 6,000,000,000 yen. Out of this, two-thirds, or 4,000,000,000 yen, are in high private interest loans yielding 12 or 15 per cent.—and in some cases as high as 30 per cent. The normal rate in the rural districts is 11 per cent. The interest on the loans made by the Hypothec Bank and its prefectoral branches has been 7 or 8 per cent. The largest portion of the rural debts is made for consumption and not for productive purposes.

In many places there is no cash and barter is practiced. Some villages are in utter darkness, in the literal sense of the term, because the electric companies have cut off the current as the subscribers do not pay their bills. Under these circumstances rural people have no other recourse than to contract further debt.

One of the chief causes of the bad financial situation of the countryside is the constant flow of farm funds into

big cities, in the shape of deposits in large banks, postal savings, insurance premiums, taxes, etc. Unless some steps are taken for central organizations to send back the cash into rural arteries, there will surely follow anaemia of the whole body.

IV

So great is the distress of the rural communities that the government authorities and political parties are united in the belief that some concrete measures of relief must be adopted. One remedy suggested is the devaluation of the yen. Another is a government loan to the farmers at low interest. Another is the proposal of a moratorium, by which farmers may readjust their debts. Experts recommend planting of crops specially adapted to local conditions. Co-operative societies figure largely as a means of self-help ; but one-third of the farmers are not members of the co-operative societies and they, too, must be aided. Another plan proposed is to maintain agricultural prices by establishing a central organization, a sort of cartel, which should control sales. As fertilizers form a large part of the farmer's yearly outlay, some means should be devised for reducing the cost of these, for example, by encouraging association of buyers or by abolishing the licence act for ammonia sulphate.

Certainly a very important measure to be considered is the reduction of the taxes, which weigh very heavily on agricultural production. Agriculturalists pay at least

double the amount of aggregate taxes borne by the industrialists and merchants. This injustice is due largely to a wrong system of assessment. In the calculation of profit a single individual is taken as a unit on one farm, whereas the whole family work on it and should be considered as wage-earners.

There are suggested other ways of relieving the distress in the rural regions, such as medical relief. The Emperor himself has lately given about 5,000,000 yen for this purpose. In contrast to these temporary measures, some advanced thinkers are advocating the wholesale nationalization of land.

The concrete relief measure to be adopted by the government is to devote 1,600,000,000 yen to be spent in three years, partly for the rescue of the unemployed, but mainly as a state indemnity for the liquidation of rural loans. Such a policy naturally implies inflation, and whether the evil effect of inflation would undo the good which relief aims at is an open question.

Still another plan is the elaboration of the system which has been on trial for some years, namely, government purchase of rice when its price falls below a certain limit, say 4 yen per bushel, on the estimate that the cost of production is between 4.20 and 4.60 yen.

No relief measure can succeed unless it calls forth the spirit of self-help and of thrift on the part of the rural population. Though they are entitled, like the rest of their compatriots, to a higher standard of living, they

have not been free from indulging in unnecessary and even injurious ways of living. . . .

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xi. 9. 1932.

CHAPTER XIV

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Under this heading it is my purpose to dwell chiefly on the cultural or human aspects of the recent economic changes wrought in New Japan and the social problems involved in them. By the recent economic changes I do not mean those that are going on now or even since the present depression began. In all my lectures I have been taking a long view of events, and this afternoon, too, I have in mind the economic changes that broke down the Old Japan and have brought in the New in the last two generations. From several of my lectures you must have gotten some idea of the causes of the downfall of the feudal régime, which I have called an economic system, of the rise of foreign trade, and of the condition of the agricultural community at present. I wish you to recall some of the facts I have presented, and with these as starting points, I shall confine myself this afternoon to the consideration of internal economic problems and shall not dwell on our direct economic relations with other nations. These considerations are : (1) what changes were effected in food supply and in population ; (2) how Japan became industrial ; (3) what effects these changes had on the finances of the country ; and, (4) how society and ideas were influenced by all the economic transformation.

I

That population increases and decreases in proportion to the means of livelihood is too well known a fact to discuss here. Whether one accepts the law of the logistic curve or not, there certainly is a strong tendency for the population of a country to approach such a curve.

In our country, during the age of seclusion, when the inhabitants had no other means of earning a livelihood than from the soil, their number was limited and remained stationary. For nearly a century it remained about 35,000,000.

The present growth began with the opening of foreign trade; which has enabled the people to produce commodities they do not themselves consume, but which they exchange for food.

In the days of seclusion and of feudalism, though the country could have produced far more silk than it did, the production was restricted, partly for the prevention of luxury and partly to reserve land for the production of food. As soon as foreign trade began in the middle of the 19th century, the production of silk increased by leaps and bounds and in the last two decades farmers have transformed paddy-fields into mulberry groves. Somewhat the same process was followed, though to a more limited extent, with tea, the area devoted to which was increased several fold in the few years after foreign trade was allowed.

It is true that there are some agricultural products

considered essential and which used to be cultivated, but which are now either greatly diminished or have entirely disappeared from our fields, such as cane-sugar, indigo, and cotton. But taken all in all, there has been a steady increase of tillage in the last half-century. This increase of food production has been accompanied by an increase of population, which in turn has been followed by further extension of foreign trade.

The present population of Japan is approximately 65,000,000, and the annual rate of increase is over 12 per mille. Perhaps this may be taken as normal; and at this rate there will be 75,760,000 in 1945 and 108,800,000 in 1965.

The density of our population at present is not as great as in some countries of Europe. It is per square mile 433 in Japan, 734 in England, 686 in Belgium, and 628 in the Netherlands. But if we compare the density of population on the arable area, perhaps no country exceeds ours, since, on account of its mountainous character, only about 15 per cent. of its land is under tillage. For every 100 acres of cultivated land, the number of persons is, according to one estimation, as follows : England—90, Germany—74, Switzerland—67, France—43, Spain—36, Holland—109, Italy—122, Belgium—155, Japan—159.

From the foregoing one sees at once that the Japanese cannot support themselves by farming alone. The steady increase of the population must be fed by industries or else there must be exercised some check on birth-rate.

For, as to death-rate, it is decreasing, thanks to sanitation and medical science. Infant mortality is still quite high, but this, too, is decreasing. Hence, unless birth-control is exercised, the increase will be so great as to defy the available sources of food. The death rate has been 20 per mille and the birth rate about 30 per mille. The proportion of male and female in the population is well balanced, the male slightly in excess of the female, until the age of 55, after which women outnumber men, so much so that among old persons above 75 the number of women is nearly double that of men.

Of the entire population more than half (54.5 per cent.) consists of the working age, between 15 and 60. If we include thousands who are employed above the age of 60, and some below the age of 15, we may state that over 60 per cent. of the male population and 36 per cent. of the female population, or nearly one-half of the entire population, is occupied with some kind of useful calling.

When we compare our occupational table with that of other countries, we see at once that the Japanese are an industrious people; and if we delve a little deeper into the condition of this labor, we shall find that in their working capacity they are not behind most people in intelligence, celerity or endurance. Astonishment has been expressed by more than one observer that, with so small a supply of protein and calories, the people can endure such steady work, for it is calculated that an average Japanese does not require more than two ounces of protein

a day.

It is generally believed that the nation as a whole suffers from insufficient nutrition, and while I believe there is ample need for dietary improvement, I must confess my skepticism as to the scientific findings in dietetics. Until a few years ago, prior to the vitamin theory, food experts spoke as though the nation would be famished in a couple of generations. The vitamin found in vegetable diet saved our people from death at the hands of chemists ! Perhaps they may now save us still more by the further study of marine food.

Whether they busy themselves in manual drudgery or in the finer manipulation of handicraft, the quality of their work has been good. Naturally, the physique being smaller than that of the European, the Japanese have been less efficient in mere muscular exertion. Rich in mother-wit, persistent in toil, law-abiding in behavior, educated as few peasants are in any country, and almost unlimited in supply, their labor has been the greatest asset to Japanese national economy. Speaking of labor, the considerable part taken by women is due to the large percentage of textile industries and to the small percentage of industries that require great physical exertion. Thousands of women who are most usefully engaged in tending the silkworm and in reeling cocoons in their homes, do not appear in statistics.

Let us cast a cursory view over the different stages of our process of industrialization.

II

From the Restoration of 1868 to the present time, we may observe five periods more or less sharply marked in the evolution of our industries. Down to the middle of the eighties may be described as the period of industrial and financial infancy, when the government nursed some incipient enterprises and gave birth to others. It had to destroy some obsolete institutions and give new shape to others. As the country was unified, one of the first reforms the new government undertook was the unification of the currency and of the taxation system. The Currency Act, first passed in 1871 and subsequently revised, rested on the silver and gold bimetallic system. The Bank of Japan was established in 1882, and was authorized to issue convertible notes and to handle business directly with the Imperial Treasury and the state loans, as well as to supervise and control all other banks. The government built railways and steamships. It started and managed various kinds of factories, cloth and paper-mills; and other industries. It even demolished one of the most prominent streets of Tokyo and constructed a brand new "model" quarter, after a Western model. In nearly all these enterprises foreign experts and advisers were employed. The enterprises were more properly experiments or demonstrations, and their value lay in their educational aspects. Those that failed were buried in oblivion; while those that proved successful were sold or given over to

entrepreneurs to be continued.

This transference from state to private ownership and management, which took place chiefly between 1883 and 1894, marks the second period during which the long depreciated currency was restored to par and the convertible system was reassured on a sound basis. Such a step was made possible by the development of banking, of the means of transportation, of joint stock companies, of commercial law, and by the change in public sentiment regarding business. Commercial dealings with foreigners had passed the stage of hazardous experiment and their volume had swelled by leaps and bounds.

It was followed by the third epoch, commencing with the Chinese War in 1894. Not a few industries which had not thriven in the sunshine of peace suddenly blossomed under clouds of war. Some new industries connected with ammunition and food supplies shot up, with or without state aid. The receipt of the Chinese indemnity of 37,000,000 pounds sterling enabled Japan to adopt the long contemplated gold standard currency, which, for lack of reserve, had not been put into actual execution. By far the most vital change in this epoch was the revision of the unilateral treaties signed in 1858. For a whole generation, the Japanese nation had lain under this iniquitous document.

No peaceful reforms in law, education or customs, had convinced the Western Powers of Japan's progress. They seemed able only to understand the voice of the cannon

as it belched forth in the few short campaigns in China. Fortunately, a few weeks before the war was declared, Great Britain had recognized Japan's claim to equal treatment in the community of nations and had signed a revised treaty. This step had been anticipated by America for two decades, and was immediately followed by the rest of the Treaty Powers. Japan thus obtained tariff autonomy. The effect of the new agreement soon showed itself in the increase of revenue. Nor was it detrimental to foreign trade. In the ten years which followed (1894-1903) Japan's import trade increased six times in value and four times in volume. All history chronicles reactions following a war-boom, and Japan was no exception to this rule. She acted like the famous foolish virgin who did not keep her lamp trimmed. The Chinese indemnity itself was not an unalloyed blessing. All in all, however, this period marked another milestone toward industrialism.

The fourth epoch of our industrial progress dates from 1904 and closes with the World War, 1914. It was the epoch of dashing manhood, at times much sobered by gloomy prospects. The year 1904 was immortalized in our history by the life-and-death struggle with Russia into which the country was plunged. As far as public finances were concerned, she was in no position to take a rash course. In a way, the hard financial condition was one aspect of preparedness. Seeing that the contest was approaching—since the rumor had some time before

reached our authorities that the Czar had intimated to the Kaiser that Russian readiness might be relied upon by 1904—military preparations had laid heavy burdens on the nation and its industries had felt the pinch. Under normal conditions, an economic crisis would have been inevitable. It was only avoided by huge importations of foreign capital, made both by the government and private firms. The direct economic outcome of the War was the acquisition of the southern half of the Island of Saghalien, the transfer of the Russian rights in South Manchuria, including the railways, and a free hand in Korea. The imponderable acquisitions were many and various, as related elsewhere. In consequence of the War, capital found fresh fields of investment overseas.

Underlying all this economic success, however, there was a flaw, or else a protective tariff or a subsidy would not have been so urgently required. Nevertheless, there was no doubt that the country had now definitely embarked on the policy of industrialization.

Industrialization received an extraordinary impetus from the World War. The Far Eastern and South Sea markets, hitherto supplied by Europe, were now at the disposal of Japan. Veritable wind-falls were these markets, but worm-eaten at the core, as we found ; and, worse still, the worms turned out so often to be our own petty traders.

According to a careful survey of Japanese industries made by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry since

the War, the industrial production in the ante-war period amounted to 1,371,000,000 yen. In the short space of five years the production increased five-fold—in 1919, to 6,738,000,000 yen.

During the boom, innumerable companies and factories shot up in quick succession. Between ill-mannered *nouveaux riches* and arrogant operatives, the general moral tone suffered greatly. Besides America, Japan is the only belligerent country that came out of the War rich. It is seriously to be doubted whether the effect was really happy for either of them.

The War stopped, and with it the boom in trade. But the *nouveau-riche* psychology of the nation and the government continued. The earthquake came, but its financial lesson was not heeded. Exports ceased in many commodities, the trade balance became unfavorable. Imports showed no sign of diminution, nor did prices of going down.

That the country is making long strides toward industrialization is proved by the constantly increasing proportion of provisions and raw materials in the list of imports and the constantly increasing proportion of manufactured goods in the list of exports.

First among the articles of importation is cotton, which stands head and shoulders above other articles such as iron, oil-cake, timber, wool and rice.

The exported articles comprise raw silk, which overshadows all others, and cotton cloth, silk cloth (Fuji

silk and *habutae*), refined sugar, sea-products, coal, knitted goods, pottery and porcelain ware.

A certain scholar has calculated that out of the total imports into Japan, 63 per cent. consist of raw materials, largely the price of Japan's poverty in natural resources.

The same authority declares that 27 per cent. of the imports can be easily supplied by home articles of slightly inferior quality. Japan-made hats, cloths, pencils, toilet articles, medicines, etc., are much cheaper, but correspondingly lower in quality. There are good reasons for believing there would be improvement if there were a larger and steadier demand. Some home-made goods are more expensive than the imported articles and yet of lower quality ; but these are only experimentally put on the market, where the law of the survival of the fittest rules ruthlessly.

Ten per cent. of the articles imported into the country can be replaced by equally well or even better made home-products. The price in this case is very much lower.

There is thus not only a need but a probability of the nation making further strides in industrialization,—and with it the financial and social features of the country must necessarily undergo a great change. We shall likely get richer, uglier and noisier for a long while to come.

III

The general industrialization of the nation has naturally

influenced the public treasury. In the early years of New Japan, the land tax was the chief source of government revenue. Now it takes fifth place. The chief items are : excise on alcoholic beverages, 230,000,000 yen ; income tax, 204,000,000 yen ; customs, 150,000,000 yen ; and sugar tax, 83,000,000 yen. The land tax stands fifth at about 65,000,000 yen. The rest of the revenue comes from business profit tax, excise on textiles, estate duties, tax on bourses and exchanges, etc.

Thus our public finance has to depend more and more upon the wealth to be created by industries, and yet, when we study the productive capacity of our people and compare it with that of other peoples, there is a disheartening feature. I mean the relatively small rate of income accruing from the same amount of wealth. It is well for our people to know this ; for I have faith in their ability to overcome this disability, if their attention is focused upon it.

As calculated in dollars and cents, there is no doubt whatever that in the last quarter of a century Japan has made remarkable progress in wealth.

The estimated national wealth of Japan proper rose from 22,589 million yen in 1905 to 32,043 million yen in 1913 and 102,341 million yen in 1924, while the per capita wealth in yen rose from 514 to 600 and 1,731 respectively. The figures for national income show a twofold increase in each of the above periods and reached 13,382 million yen in 1925, the per capita income

being 224 yen.¹

These figures give scarcely any idea of a nation's economic standing unless accompanied by figures for other countries. But a comparative table, even if the estimates are not accurate, furnishes no small amount of food for thought. Here follows a table based on the calculation made by such authorities as Bowley and Stamp, Shirras and Rogowsky, and the Bureau of Statistics of the Japanese government. The figures refer to the data given in 1922 and 1924.²

Countries	National Wealth		National Income		
	Gross in £1,000,000	per capita in £	Gross in £1,000,000	Percentage of wealth	Per Capita in £
United States...	76,235	660	14,252	18.69	127
England	23,633	525	4,383	18.55	98
Germany	7,161	115	2,498	34.89	40
France	10,352	255	2,191	21.18	55
Japan	10,234	173	1,288	12.58	22
Italy	4,474	117	1,035	23.14	26
Austria	1,944	345	452	23.29	77

These figures show, however, that the total wealth of the country is only one-seventh that of the United States and about one-half that of England. It is about the same

¹ In the lecture, reference was made to the estimates compiled by the American Bankers' Trust as follows:—

	1922	1924	1923
National wealth of Japan in yen	11,414,717,000	23,399,000,000	63,000,000,000
Wealth per capita	260	440	122.9
National income in yen	1,640,764,000	3,200,000,000	8,400,000,000
Income per capita	37	62	152

² Cf. Nitobe, *Japan's Public Economy and Finance*, I. P. R. Publication, 1931, pp. 1-3.

as that of France, and more than that of Germany. It is indeed twice as much as the wealth of Italy. When we compare the per capita wealth of the country, each Japanese owns only about one-fourth as much as an American and one-third as much as an Englishman ; but a Japanese is richer than an Italian or a German, and a little poorer than a Frenchman.

The Germans, poor as they are, lead the world in this respect. Their economic efficiency is such as to impress us with the magic power by which they extract treasures from nothing. It is estimated on good authority that their income from the limited amount of their entire wealth (1924) of 36,000,000,000 dollars is 12,500,000,000 dollars, which means 35 per cent. of the entire sum. American and English efficiency in production amounts to only about one-half that of the German, or about 18 per cent. As to the reason for the low degree of our efficiency in the use of wealth, which is almost equivalent to saying capital investment, this may be found partly in our agriculture having reached the limit of intensity, *i.e.*, the point of diminishing returns ; also in the dependence of our industries on imported raw materials, as well as in our limited use of machinery.

Speaking of the national income, we may say that labor is not, perhaps, adequately recompensed. Though during the Great War, when the demand for labor was unprecedentedly great, wages rose high and strikes were frequent. Since then there has been a slump in industries

and consequently in wages, but, on the whole, wages reckoned in money have been steadily rising, a day laborer in factories averaging 1.70 yen in 1926 and 2.66 yen in 1929. Women workers average about one yen. There are, or were, before the present depression, roughly 56,000 factories employing over 5 workmen. In these 56,000 factories are employed about two million operatives, of whom a little over one-half are women, since our largest industry is the manufacture of textiles. Child labor has steadily decreased ; but at present about 10 per cent. of textile operatives are girls under sixteen.

The Factory Laws have become operative since 1926, limiting the maximum labor hours to eleven ; regulating night work for women and children ; forbidding women to work four weeks before and six weeks after childbirth ; and providing for compensation for accidents. A laboring family which contains three workers will earn slightly over 102 yen a month. Of this sum 37 per cent. goes for food, 14 for dwelling, and 12 for clothing, making 63 per cent. of the income to be spent for the bare necessities of life. Besides, a laborer spends 17 per cent. for social purposes and 12 or 13 per cent. for cultural requirements. A laboring family can save, if it is free from illness or from accident, about 10 yen a month.

IV

With the growth of industries and economic upheaval, we have been developing among us the various social and

political questions that are agitating the rest of the world. May I enumerate the problems challenging us in consequence of the economic changes brought about in recent years?

1. The problem of the growth of population, and how to control it within proper bounds.
2. The distribution of population, since there is a decided tendency towards over-crowding of cities at the expense of rural districts.
3. In the cities, therefore, we have the problem of housing.
4. Urban concentration naturally raises many problems of city government. Even at this present moment, there is a shameful disclosure of cases of graft in the Tokyo city government.
5. In times of depression there is the problem of relief.
6. Even in ordinary times industrial development raises the question of the rights of labor, including those of industrial adjustment.
7. Many unruly youths take advantage of labor discontent and are clandestinely working for the spread of the radical Marxian idea.
8. Opposed to this group of radicals is grouped together a large number of reactionaries who constitute a sort of Fascist party, with its ramifications in the army and navy.
9. The reactionaries have a definite economic policy, aiming at the revival of agriculture as against the manu-

facturing industries, of small handicraft as against great factories.

10. Even educational circles have been penetrated by radical and reactionary ideas, thus creating serious problems.

11. Even with the increase of cities, we have still about 57 per cent. of our population living in small towns of from two to ten thousand inhabitants ; but this proportion is constantly diminishing, and, as large cities are yearly increasing, municipal administration gives rise to problems such as school areas, public works, municipal finance, and especially loans and taxation.

12. I have had occasion already to call your attention to the many perplexing problems relating to rural distress, such as the price of rice and silk, moratorium on farmer's debts, and land nationalization.

Thus have I given a brief and very cursory view of the economic problems of the present day. I have not even touched upon foreign debts, the tariff, and the present low exchange rate of the yen, which seems to be more political in its cause than economic. It is enough to show that Japan has entered into the so-called modern family of nations, the economic bloc of the world. She cannot escape the ideas and the influences that are shaping the destinies of other nations. Whether she will or not, she has joined it and is tied to it by inseparable bonds. It would be the height of folly should she attempt to isolate herself as in times which have passed away no more to

return. In all sincerity we may say, What God joined together, let no man, devil, or fool put asunder.

xi. 17. 1932.

CHAPTER XV

THE MANCHURIAN QUESTION AND SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

I

At the outbreak of the lamentable event in Mukden of September 18th, 1931, China claimed before the world that Japan had invaded Manchuria "without the slightest provocation." Ever since, the public opinion of the world has been set against Japan. Take the newspapers of any country except ours, or listen to the eloquent utterances of the Chinese delegate in the League of Nations in the autumn of that year, and see how few have had any favorable word to say for my country. She is utterly condemned, like a culprit before examination, and made the victim of systematic propaganda. Those who joined in this indignation against Japan found themselves in an awkward position when more and more facts came to light, showing that there was really great and far-reaching cause for provocation—that there were indeed many causes. Yet, as a sudden about-face is not a graceful movement, they have continued to insist that Japan is wrong. They have waited for the Report of the League of Nations' Commission to verify their position. Now that it is published, it becomes clear, since the Chinese themselves accept the report, that their first declarations

are realistic. They put more faith in proof than in argument. The Asiatic mentality is generally idealistic. That is why it has produced great religions and philosophies. But the Japanese race is in this respect a poor representative of Asia. The Japanese stick to earth and do not build castles in the air. They are not, therefore, interesting or amusing to hear or to look at. Whatever future idealistic peoples may enjoy, they are at present in political chaos. Do not the land of Buddha and the land of Confucius confirm the cynical saying of Napoleon that if he desired to ruin a country he would consign it to the rule of philosophers? In the present Sino-Japanese issues, the Japanese would appeal first to facts and proceed from facts to arguments, from reality to an ideal. If an ideal is too far removed from reality, they will abide by the latter.

Like all public issues of human interest, the Manchurian question can, and should be, approached in two ways—practical and theoretical—in a realistic spirit, with the will to find a solution and in an idealistic mood to satisfy the sense of justice. The first is the way for statesmen to whom the pressing needs of the moment sometimes outweigh abstract theories of right and wrong, who face hard facts to be adjusted and evil passions to be subdued. The second is the way of theorists and dreamers, to whom abstract justice is the sole criterion of action.

We are thankful that there are always these two ways, representing two mentalities, two different types of mind,

the realist and the idealist. All history and our daily experiences confirm the truth that life means steering between the two, combining, co-ordinating, and compromising. Some of the noblest teachers of the race have preached the middle path, the golden mean.

Of Japan's attitude to the League and other peace machinery, I shall speak in the next lecture. This evening I wish to touch upon the fundamental issues underlying the present situation in the Far East.

II

The drama that is being enacted on the Manchurian stage is the interplay of at least three nations, Russia, China and Japan, with others in the background to encourage or obstruct. When it is said that no war is now-a-days confined to the belligerent nations, it means that non-belligerent nations create an atmosphere by morally taking sides.

Of the three nations vitally concerned in the Far East, two are in visible conflict while the third is quiescent for the moment, but nevertheless is too interested in the Sino-Japanese issue to be indifferent to the outcome.

Russia has a territorial interest in Manchuria on account of geographical contiguity, and the right of contiguity has been defined as "a right of a nation to exclude all others from a territory which, though actually not within her bounds, is essential to her convenience and security." The world must sympathize with Russia for wanting an

ice-free port. Nowhere does she want one more than in the East. Her desire to be possessed of one in Manchuria is natural and should be granted—when the world is freed of national egotism. Until then, neither China nor Japan can view with equanimity the southern descent of Soviet Russia in the Far East. Such a move on the part of Russia means menace to the national existence of Japan. She felt it a quarter of a century ago and fought with Russia, and though war is usually impotent to settle issues, the Russo-Japanese war checked the advance of Russia for a generation. Undaunted by the failure of the Czarist diplomacy, Soviet Russia is pursuing exactly the same process in Outer Mongolia, where she has carved out of Chinese territory an independent republic. She has hermetically sealed this land, and with it as a base of action she will gradually force her way southward. Her right of southward march, founded on geographical contiguity, will be justified by another reason, namely, that she will protect, govern and improve the territory nominally held by China much better than China can.

China bases her Manchurian claim on her territorial sovereignty, which is in turn based on prescription. The claim is feeble, for Manchuria has never been an integral part of China. It lay beyond the Great Wall and it is well known that the ex-mural people were treated as barbarians. It was the original home of the Manchu or Ching dynasty and was always held as its private matrimonial estate. Sun Yat-sen spoke of it as if it were a

foreign country. Even after the Revolution, Chang Tso-ling, the war-lord of this province, was practically independent, raising his own revenue, maintaining his own troops, and even signing a treaty with a foreign government in his own name. When his son joined the Nanking government, he did so not as a subject but as a co-ruler of China—without, of course, any consent of, or consultation with, his people.

But, in spite of all these undeniable indications of the feeble power that China has enjoyed in Manchuria, no other land has stronger claim to the territory than she. Prescription is a right obtained from long usage to which no objection has been made. Therefore though China lacks the power to protect the boundaries, to govern the people or to develop the resources of Manchuria, the territorial right over it has been nevertheless attributed to her. A slight extension of Russia's Communistic ideology, which denies the right of property and of possession when the owner or the possessor cannot make social use of it, will deprive China of her sovereignty in this province. We will not be surprised if Communistic ideology should become as strong a guiding principle of private and public law, of municipal and international legislation, as the doctrines of liberty and equality. By that time China will not be able to withstand the claims of Russia. Supposing that Slav ideology may sometime succeed, what in the meantime should determine the claims of a nation to a land? There is no denying the

fact that it is a long cry between Chinese sovereignty, on the one hand, based on prescription or her theoretical and legal right, and Russia's natural right, on the other, based on geographical contiguity.

Between these two lies Japan's claim, founded on the economic interest she has secured. The imperialism of the last century has left a bad taste in the mouth of the present generation. This imperialism has changed its name and calls itself economic penetration, because the old name savored too much of the rattling of the sword. That economic penetration has its last appeal in the sword matters little. There is an ancient oriental proverb which speaks of "stealing a bell with ears covered." Because of unfortunate warlike developments in Manchuria, Japan's economic penetration there has been dubbed by the opprobrious term of imperialistic invasion.

The latter term has another unsavory association. Territorial ambition is closely connected with it. Hence to speak of imperialism is to advocate the acquisition of foreign territory at the point of the sword. This is an idea very far removed from Japan's present position in Manchuria.

Her interest in this part of the world is two-fold, strategic and economic. She would make of Manchuria her first line of defence against the territorial advance of Russia and the propaganda of Communist ideas. The latter consideration is of the utmost importance, as it is something new, something that was not found in the

Czarist régime, and because it is the movement of an idea, it is much more difficult to check by the use of the bayonet. Then, also, it is a movement to which there is already a responding party in Japan itself. In China, despite the opinion of some who know the people well and believe that Communistic ideas can never take hold among them, Communism is making rapid progress, albeit in a somewhat modified form. The Bolshevik régime, even in Russia itself, seems subject to occasional modifications to accommodate itself to the realities of human society. These accommodations may ultimately affect Communism profoundly, and it may one day end in being innocuous. But at present, even in China, where it undergoes some changes, it is dangerous to life and property, liberty and order. The Russian advance in China takes two courses : one, as has been noted, from the north by way of Mongolia, and the other from the west, where, near the Chinese frontier, there is a Russian railway by which Russia's influence can and does penetrate eastward and south of the Yangtse. Thus in course of time Communism in China will have several centers of action. Its menace to Japan may emanate either from the south or the north. The influence coming from the north is the more to be feared, since it will first affect Korea and thence find its way into Japan proper.

These, then, are the dangers which threaten us. At present they do not come directly from China, but rather from Russia. But you must understand their significance.

Let me refresh your memory. In 1895 was fought the Sino-Japanese War. When peace was concluded, China conceded a southern peninsula of Manchuria to Japan. Russia, France and Germany combined in forcing us to return this fruit of victory to China. Within a few months these powers obtained large concessions from China in return for their service. Russia then practically occupied the whole of Manchuria. England and America protested against Russia's action, but she would not budge from her position. It was then that Japan, at the stake of her national existence, fought Russia. All the time the war was on, about twenty months, Japan did not suspect that there was in operation a secret treaty between Russia and China, as against Japan. But even when Russia was hard pressed, both on land and sea, her ally, China, did not move a finger. For this, Japan was, of course, thankful, but even Dr. Martin, a faithful American friend of China, spoke of it as a most cowardly act. When the Russo-Japanese War ended, through the mediation of President Roosevelt, the rights possessed by Russia in Manchuria were transferred to Japan, but the territorial sovereignty of Manchuria was respected. If Japan had known that China was in alliance with Russia, there would have been no Manchurian question now. Diplomatic espionage was not sharp enough to detect this treaty of alliance, and only at the time of the Washington Conference of 1922 did it come to light, too late to be of any use, except to serve as a warning.

Is it any wonder that Japan shudders at the very thought of such a combination of gigantic powers as Russia and China, whose combined man power is eight times as strong as Japan's and whose combined areas (China, 4,277,000 square miles and Russia, 8,144,000 square miles) are fifty times as large ! (Japan's whole area, including colonies, is 261,000 square miles).

If we could be certain of our security, why should we spend our money and energy in fighting ? No nation loves war for the sake of war. When I hear of my country being called militaristic, I feel like asking who made her so ? Who threatened her existence and made it necessary to be armed for defence ? Did not Commodore Perry himself go there with a fleet, formidable for its time ? Did not Russia and England demand the opening of the country at the muzzle of the cannon ? A country that had enjoyed unbroken peace for 250 years was ruthlessly awakened by foreign powers and taught by them to arm, is now condemned for faithfully carrying out the teaching of her masters. A strange paradox at which Clio will be laughing in her sleeve ! How much guarantee is there in the Peace Pact ? If there is absolute guarantee in it, why discuss disarmament ? And there is no question whatever but that Russia has an immense army. Is Russia's yearly military expenditure of 580,000,000 dollars (more than double that of Japan's) only for internal defence or for the defence of her European frontiers ? Is not the whole nation trained for military service ? As

to China, no country in the world has as many soldiers. At the lowest estimate, there are two million.

If it is argued that Russia has enough to do at home and cannot expand in the Far East, it is only true for a few short years. The tactics of expansion in Asia have not changed with the change of the government from the Czarist to the Soviet régime. While the whole world is agitated about Manchuria, Russia is quietly moving eastward like a huge glacier.

Until absolute security of her territory is assured by other powers, Japan must be prepared for the worst. She thinks that Manchuria is the vulnerable point. If this region were strong enough to defend itself against Russian encroachment, Japan would be thankful indeed. For the present its nominal owner, China, is powerless. She may talk in Geneva about guaranteeing security but conditions within China are not reassuring. We may well pause to consider when we remember how the Chinese troops tried three years ago to snatch by force the Chinese Eastern Railway from Russian control and were routed in a few hours by a small band of Russian soldiers. No, we cannot rely upon China for the security of Manchuria, and if this region falls into Russian hands, the reason for our concern should be obvious to the world.

But as I have already said, there is another reason why we claim special interest and rights in Manchuria. It was once taken by Russia. We then took it from her and gave it back to China. There is a moral claim, but it

will never do in politics, especially in international politics, to expect gratitude. Putting aside the moral claim, there remain legal rights obtained by treaties.

The true cause of the conflict lies in the attempted repudiation, on the part of the Chinese, of these very treaty rights and interests in Manchuria, established under the provisions of various covenants and treaties and recognized as such by all the powers of the world. In order to carry out this attempt, the Chinese have stopped at nothing that would harass Japanese residents, and thwart Japanese undertakings. The offenders may be unruly individuals or groups, but the Chinese government, or the Kuomintang, not only does not check such offenders, but even abets them, and at times countenances and renders aid. In towns and villages of China where the number of resident Japanese is small, these residents are subjected to all sorts of insult and violence. In places where direct means cannot very well be applied, groundless charges are made and publicly posted by bills and placards, vividly represented in order to work up the people to madness and violence against Japanese residents engaged in lawful pursuits. As is well known, boycott is one of the means so frequently resorted to by the Chinese against the Japanese residents, to whom even the very necessities of daily subsistence, such as rice and other foodstuffs, are not sold; all this is tantamount to war, a kind of war not dreamed of by the authors of the Kellogg Pact.

As to our economic interests in Manchuria, we have invested there over 1,000,000,000 in gold. This is more than twenty times as much as the American capital invested in Cuba at the time of the Spanish War, nearly twenty times as much as the sum of money, the misuse of which brought about the American intervention in Haiti.

Due to the anti-foreign sentiment which is directed not only against Japan but against all countries—Americans will remember the severe boycott to which they were subjected in 1909—due to this anti-foreign sentiment systematically fostered by the government and the party in power, investments are far from secure. And when it is remembered that the object of the Japanese investments is to acquire the means of national livelihood rather than a profit for capital, the urgency of our contention will become intelligible. I have said, over and over again, that unless Japan can develop industries, she cannot exist. In the country itself there are not sufficient materials for industry, little coal, less iron, and a very small amount of oil. All these are found in abundance in Manchuria, and Japanese capital has developed the mines. Then, even for the prosperity of our agricultural industry, we must import fertilizers, and the best of them, soya bean cakes, are obtainable in Manchuria. This is why that region is called the life-line of Japan.

I have presented only the Japanese side of the situation. Our need of Manchuria, either for defence or for economic reasons, would not be sufficient in itself for military

control. We ought to be able to adjust our relations with China in Manchuria in a peaceful, lawful way. Why do we resort to force?

Candidly what other resort is there under the circumstances? There is no stable government in China. Much of the country is in disorder. You who are far away and not deeply affected may remain indifferent, as we would be if there should be disturbances in Nicaragua or Salvador. But China is our close neighbor and her general state a matter of deep concern and at times of positive danger to us. We have many Japanese citizens living in that country. Their life and property are constantly menaced and the Chinese government cannot protect them. Under the circumstances you would, I believe, take action, and so must we. . . .

But even now peace is not beyond our reach. There is a strong element in Japan, and I trust in China too, that is hoping for a just and reasonable settlement between the two countries at the earliest possible moment. The less a third party interferes, the sooner will such hopes for peace be realized.

CHAPTER XVI

JAPAN, THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND THE PEACE PACT

I. Japan and the League of Nations¹

When the League of Nations was started twelve years ago it was received in different ways by different people, according to their different temperaments. Broadly speaking, we may say that it was hailed by the idealistically inclined as the last stab dealt by Janus into the breast of Mars. On the contrary, to the cynics and their closely related pessimists, the League of Nations was only an instrument of obstruction to the free play of the natural and beneficent law of struggle for life and the survival of the fittest. Between these two ways of thinking, there was another, namely that of men of affairs, who expected of the League some tangible results though these might be neither totally perfect nor perfectly good.

The idealists supported the League with enthusiasm as a flawless device for the prevention of war and for fostering the spirit of international co-operation. The cynic tolerated its creation and existence as a harmless joke. Practical minds viewed it as a promising makeshift,

¹ A Radio Speech, given under the auspices of the National Student Federation of America from Station WABC over nationwide hookup of Columbia Broadcasting System, May 8, 1932.

human equality should be clearly stated—somewhat after the manner of the American Declaration of Independence, which began with the enunciation that all men are born equal. The Japanese spokesman expressly stated that it was not to serve as a premise for demanding for his countrymen free immigration into other countries. He admitted that the control of immigration is a matter for internal legislation. The motive for requesting the insertion of some brief phrase to this effect was national pride. And though the proposition was adopted by a large majority, it was turned down by the chairman, President Wilson, who declared that a resolution so important must have the unanimous assent of all present.

The rejection of the Racial Equality clause in the Covenant had a most unhappy repercussion on Japanese opinion regarding the League of Nations. The idealists suffered most. They began to doubt whether the League was really to be as good as they had hoped. The cynics pointed at the incident as the clearest evidence that the League was at heart intended to be a Holy Alliance of Western Powers, and that no good would befall Japan in time of need. The liberal-minded, bent on finding some practical way out of the world chaos, felt no small misgivings, made slight of the unhappy incident and forced themselves to believe that entrance into the League of Nations would be beneficial to the country. For the whole nation it was a hard pill to swallow. It estranged a large part of its adherents. We had the assurance,

however, that by her steady endeavor, a nation can disarm others of prejudice and suspicion and the best policy would be to conceal our pride and abide our time—in the meanwhile to observe how other nations would treat us.

(2) When, thus, with the best of intentions, Japan joined the League of Nations, what was the surprise, the amazement, that awaited her in its earliest days? America would not join it! This fact was to Japan a blow no less hard than the refusal to inscribe in its constitution the academic principle of racial equality. The latter is theoretical, the former material. If the one is of abstract character, the other is of substantial, diplomatic utility. A League minus the United States loses in the estimate of Japan more than one-half its value. A general treaty of which neither Russia nor America is a signatory has very little use for Japan. It is, as we say, like a mass of flesh with the bones taken out. The whole thing simply collapses. The masses of our people spoke of it as a trap laid by America. Again the idealists were well-nigh in despair; but idealists are optimistic and they would not lightly give up the hope of America's coming soon into the fold. At this the cynics laughed in scorn, calling the whole thing another trick to deceive the Eastern races. Practical men, half confident that the United States would sometime find their way to co-operate with the League, and trustful that the best way to build up the incipient institution was to be a part of it,

favored continued and loyal membership.

In the twelve years that have passed, Japan has been a faithful member of the League, fulfilling all the duties that were required of her. She has had little to complain of in her experience in the League. She has seen no indication of racial discrimination. She has watched with increasing satisfaction America's approach and co-operation. She has noted the great structure in Geneva growing broader and stronger at its base, higher and nobler in its form, richer and fuller in its content. Surely the whole world is better for the League, and Japan is to be congratulated on her patience and fidelity.

(3) In all the years of its existence, there had never come under the purview of the League any subject relating to Japan as a principal party. This record was suddenly broken when China applied to it for protection of her territory from Japanese attack which was made, according to her statement, without the slightest provocation. It was unfortunate that the League acted without full knowledge of the many provocative causes covering a period of over a decade, which precipitated the action taken by the Japanese troops stationed in Manchuria.

The Sino-Japanese issue got more and more complicated in the hands of the League, due partly to the emotional aspect it assumed, and partly to insufficiency of knowledge concerning the actual situation in the Far East. As Viscount Cecil said, the question was largely befogged because one delegate (the Japanese) spoke too little and

But I still have faith in the League of Nations' ability to meet real issues in the spirit of fairness and justice as well as of political good sense.

In the meantime, I am afraid that the idealists will give up their dream of the parliament of man, and practical liberals their hope of a better international order in the near future. I am still more afraid that, if the League fails in this respect, it will confirm the cynic's notion of its utter futility and the world will go back by a number of decades.

May we be saved from such a catastrophe ! May we and the League of Nations learn from the present experience where its weakness lies and help it to become a more real and effectual engine for the maintenance of world peace.

II. Japan and the Peace Pact¹

With Special Reference to Japan's Reaction to Mr. Stimson's Note Regarding the Pact

Allow me to state at the outset that I propose to speak this evening in a wholly private capacity on a certain phase of the foreign relations of Japan which must be of special interest to the American public—namely, on Secretary Stimson's Note regarding the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, or the so-called Briand-Kellogg

¹ This is the unabridged address broadcasted over the Columbia System, New York, on August 20, 1932. In limiting himself to twenty-six minutes, the author seems to have omitted several phrases which are included in this original text.

Pact, otherwise known as the Non-War or Peace Pact. I shall confine myself to Mr. Stimson's Note, with no reference to the so-called Hoover Doctrine which the President himself enunciated and which strikes me as somewhat different from Mr. Stimson's.¹

When the Peace Pact came up for discussion in the Japanese Diet during its session of 1929, there was a heated debate as to the incongruity of Monarchical Japan's subscribing to a Treaty which began with the words, "In the name of the people." This phrase bears more than one interpretation, and, in whatever way it is interpreted, does not affect the contents and substance of the Treaty. It finally passed the Diet with a proviso that the said phrase was not to be understood, as far as Japan was concerned, in a literal sense.

When, a few weeks later, the same Treaty was presented in the Privy Council, which is our highest consultative body on matters of international relations, only one member, a jurist of high standing, raised the question whether a reservation had been made regarding Man-

¹ In the brochure containing this address which was owned by Dr. Nitobé, there are several marginal insertions in his own handwriting. They are included in this volume as foot-notes, in several places, assuming that they were perhaps made use of at the university lecture. The first one runs as follows:—

"Mr. Hoover in his speech accepting renomination (Aug. 11, 1932) says: 'I have projected a new doctrine into international affairs, the doctrine that we do not and never will recognize title to possession of territory gained in violation of the peace pacts.' He rejoices that this doctrine has been accepted by all the nations of the world, among which Japan is included."

churia. It was answered that there could be no fear on that score, since some governments had already made reservations implying the non-application of the Pact in certain spheres of interest, not even specified. The Japanese Government, therefore, took it for granted, that in those regions where she had paramount and vital interests, she, too, would naturally be exempt from the obligation of the Non-War Pact.

It was not, however, solely implicit faith in the fairness of other Powers that led the Japanese Government to accept the Treaty in good faith. Tokyo had previously corresponded with Washington as to the legitimacy and right of self-defense.

Mr. Kellogg himself said that "there is nothing in the American draft of an Anti-War Treaty which restricts or impairs the right of self-defense. The right is inherent in every sovereign state and is implicit in every treaty." He added that "each state alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to war in defense." As to what constituted self-defense, the answer was given by Mr. Elihu Root, who, in speaking of the Monroe Doctrine, defined it as "the right of every sovereign state to protect itself by preventing a condition of affairs in which it will be too late to protect." Another high American authority on international law, Professor Bassett Moore, a former justice of the World Court, compares self-defense to what is known in private law

as "the abatement of nuisance."¹

Mr. Stimson disposes of the subject of self-defense, which he calls "the only limitation to the broad covenant against war," rather summarily by stating "its limits have been clearly defined by countless precedents," suggesting no new doctrine on this point and approving of "countless precedents," many of which are of a notoriously ambiguous nature and open to dubious interpretation. Still he seems to rely for facts substantiating self-defense on the "journalistic condition of today." Yet how misleading journalistic reports are is a matter of common knowledge. The information obtained through the "Black Chamber," where were decoded the secret telegrams of friendly foreign powers to their representatives in Washington, served the State Department, until a few years ago, more than the press. With all my respect for the journalism of today, may I not say that whoever builds his policy on newspapers builds only a house of paper? It scarcely seems fair that Japan's reasons for self-defense are misconstrued, doubted and ignored. Is self-defense legitimate only in cases of attack by force? Is there to be no defense against personal insults, against wholesale violations of treaty rights, against an uncontrolled menace to life and

¹ The next insertion in the margin above this paragraph is as follows: "Is it not plain that there can be no self-defense unless there is first offense? There must be something overt in the form of attack against which to defend oneself. If now the whole world renounces war, that is forcible attack, as an instrument of national policy, then self-defense, too, as an argument for war, goes the way of all flesh.—Nicholas Murray Butler."

property? Is national honor incapable of defense? Is there no defense against the boycott, which, when America suffered in 1905 at the hands of the Chinese, the State Department stigmatized as "a form of coercion designed to blackmail concessions out of our (American) country, a conspiracy in restraint of our trade, a treaty violation and an hostile act, carried on under official guidance"? If, as Leibnitz said, "absence of war is not peace," neither does the absence of warlike measures always spell peace. A sword wrapt in brocade is still a sword. Boycott, when it assumes the form, or attains the proportion that it does in China, is practically, and not rhetorically, warfare. It even resorts at times to the free use of physical violence. Mr. Castle has rightly compared an official boycott to "gas attack from the air on undefended cities and towns."

If boycott is not immediately as bad as open warfare, there is little doubt that it is a sure step toward war. "If there is anything more likely to lead to war than a blockade," says an eminent statesman of this country, "I have yet to hear of it." Boycott is war in its incipient stage.

A voluminous report has recently come from the press of the Kiel University, which shows how interdependent and mutually supporting nations are—that trade is the life-blood of nations. This is most emphatically true of a nation like Japan, which has a large population and a small extent of arable land. Industries and trade keep

alive more than half of our 65,000,000, in a country smaller than California. If a Chinese army should invade our territory they might slaughter thousands ; but if the Chinese people resort to a boycott, they can starve millions. Is the man with a sword always an aggressor and the man with a plow the aggrieved ? A child reading Shakespeare can tell which is the greater offender : Othello with his dagger or Iago with a dainty handkerchief and an evil tongue.

If we would outlaw war, we must outlaw war in all its forms, with or without weapons. We must indeed define war itself. And if we would resort exclusively to pacific means for settlement of disputes, we must exclude from them means that are to all intents and purposes warlike. If we would punish an aggressor, we must take into account other criteria than the mere use of arms. War is a serious, not infrequently a fatal, disease of the body politique and it cannot be cured by plaster of Paris. Indeed, tinkering with paper remedies may aggravate it.

Moreover, is it fair to bind a signatory to a treaty by interpreting it in a way of which it was not warned and to which it may not have consented ? The Peace Pact was signed August 27, 1928. Three years and a half later, namely on January 8, 1932, Secretary Stimson comes out with a sudden declaration of the Non-recognition Doctrine and claims for it canonical authority. Seven weeks later (February 23rd) he amplifies the explanation, and then in a recent speech in New York

(August 8th) he expands the interpretation of the Pact, drawing from its text consequences which were not explicitly contained therein—namely, that no country should “recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris.”

From the context in his speech and from the circumstances closely connected with his repeated declarations, it is pretty clear that Secretary Stimson intends to apply this new doctrine to Japan with reference to Manchuria. Can it exercise a retroactive power and be applied to the Manchurian situation, which took place nearly half a year before his declaration? Suppose it can be argued that it can be legitimately applied to Manchuria, the true lovers of peace, those who would realize lasting peace on earth, would think twice and thrice before putting it to that test. In the early days of the League of Nations, the Council was exceedingly chary of taking up large questions for settlement, for they had to proceed most cautiously with the infant institution. The success of the League may be largely attributed to the gradual accretion of confidence and power—even to its hesitation to confront the major problems of world politics. Remember, for instance, how the Assembly declined to discuss the Tacna-Arica dispute in 1921. I, for one, shall be most sorry to see the Kellogg Pact fail utterly or function lamely in its first contact with a live problem. I have faith in its ultimate triumph, but triumph cannot be

forced by hair-splitting legal interpretation. Triumph can come only as a moral suasion befitting a real situation.

Mr. Stimson shows his noble idealism in looking to the sanction of public opinion for the success of the Non-War Pact. He wisely addresses himself to the League and to the public, and waxes eloquent on this theme, the force of public opinion ; and he will have, and should have, the support of all right-thinking and right-feeling men and women throughout the world. But the world as a whole is not yet advanced enough to accept and abide by his interpretation. Rome was not built in a day, though the warlike materials out of which it was reared were near at hand. To build a city of peace, one must begin with quarrying stones and baking bricks.

The Non-War Pact is certainly a gigantic stride toward the realization of world peace. The ideals of the Pact must be developed and the Pact itself should be clarified and implemented.¹ The signatories are committed to "put teeth" into it. But I fear that it will be some time before the dental operation is completed, and if we hurry the process we shall get only artificial teeth, ill-fitting and easily broken, needing to be mended over and over again.² Am I too cynical in thinking that the nations are paying only lip-service to the Peace Pact, that they are still think-

¹ "Monsieur Briand in his address to the plenipotentiaries before signing of the pact said—'Peace is proclaimed. That is well; that is much; but it still remains necessary to organize it. In the solution of difficulties right, not might, must prevail. That is to be the work of to-morrow.'"

² "'The work of to-morrow' is not ended yet."

ing of it in terms of war? Their conception of peace is martial. They do not as yet free themselves from war mentality. That I am not cynical is testified by disarmament conferences, and even by pacifists whose psychology is militant. Call it economic sanction, call it coercion by the "severance of all trade and financial relations," "prohibition of intercourse among nationals"—all these are war measures, punitive to the "aggressor" and provocative of further aggression on the part of the so-called "covenant breaking state" in the name of self-preservation. For, before the urge of self-preservation, all peace functions will stagger. An energetic nation asserting its right to live, when its claims are contested or resisted, will assert itself the more vehemently if for no other reason than dire need or desperation. No people will commit suicide in order to uphold a clause in a treaty. Individuals may, but nations will not offer themselves for martyrdom for an interpretation of a pact. Any engagement that overlooks the realities of life cannot be final, though it may be imposed for a while. Germany, crushed to earth by the Versailles Treaty, will, in a generation, tear that document to pieces, like a "mere scrap of paper." The Jewish race, persecuted, exiled and slaughtered, still thrives like a chosen child of God, while their persecutors have vanished from history. Unless the world takes cognizance of a nation's will and right and power to live, and opens the way for her to live, I fear that all treaties and agreements will prove futile as a means of insuring

lasting peace. All theories are powerless when confronted by facts. Japan's advance—not necessarily by military methods, I should say—in search of a life-line, is as irresistible an economic force as the westward march of the Anglo-Saxon empires. We, therefore, admire Mr. Roosevelt's far-seeing statesmanship, when he favored Japanese expansion in Manchuria and cautioned his official successor against meddling in that part of the world.

A few months ago, when a faint rumor reached Japan that the League may enforce Article XVI of the Covenant and that America may join hands with her in so doing, the more thoughtful of our people could not believe this possible ; but those who did think this might be, instead of fearing the consequences, showed resentment in a way which indicated that an actual decree of sanctions would have brought about real war with China, in which case the Japanese fleet might even now be bombarding Chinese ports. Professor John Dewey was right when he said : "Japan is probably the only country in the world on whom such fear (*i.e.* fear of economic loss) would have the least deterrent effect"—and this, in spite of the fact that trade with China is so essential to her. Here again, I am not passing moral judgment ; I am only relating a fact. Certainly within the country itself there exist all shades of opinions from a mediævalistic right to an extreme left ; but when there is a threat or show of threat from outside, all differences merge into one compact nationalism. Thus, in the present imbroglio with China,

liberal ideas in Japan would have exercised far more influence if the matter had been left to be settled between the two countries. The interference of a third party made confusion worse confounded, especially when there was a shadow of threat in the interference. The Liberals were not in favor of military operations in Manchuria ; but when menace came from abroad, they turned against it in defense of their country's honor, giving up the pettier conflict with their militaristic fellow countrymen.

Japan is grieved to be called a violator of the Peace Pact. She maintains that she has acted within its provisions. She resorted to unpacific means not "as an instrument of national policy," but as an instrument of self-defense. The Japanese nation would be grieved to see the Pact rendered null and void. Even though it was not signed or ratified "in the name of the people," it had the endorsement of the people ; and they will welcome the practical application of its principles as understood and accepted by them, but not as interpreted afterward, and that in no friendly attitude toward Manchukuo. They will even welcome its further elucidation and implementation in the future. In order to make it effective it must be interpreted in consonance not with its letter and legal notions but with facts and actual conditions, cultural and economic, as well as political and diplomatic. We cannot introduce a new order in diplomacy in utter disregard of other factors of national life. The strict observance of the Peace Pact will be possible only when China reaches a

certain degree of political unity and renounces anti-foreign diplomacy as a means of national policy, or when Japan is allowed access to vital resources of her food and industrial supply, or when Russia shall be checked from further encroachment on Chinese soil.

That Manchukuo was established with the help of Japan, no one denies. It is a common experience of new countries to be founded with the help of others. The example of Panama is too recent to be forgotten. The Republic of Outer Mongolia is not yet ten years old. If one studies the events which led up to the establishment of the Nanking Government, one sees the help, material and immaterial, of Soviet Russia. It is argued that all these instances belong to the period prior to the new dispensation announced to the world by the Peace Pact. Does the new dispensation provide that if a new state is born, it must receive no help from a midwife? Certainly the assistance which the Japanese Army gave to Manchukuo was conspicuous, because it was not given clandestinely, as has often been the case under similar circumstances. The chaotic conditions under which the new state came into existence—namely, the sudden suspension of all authority, civil and military, in Manchuria, due to the flight of Chinese officials after the incident of September 18th—lend to it an appearance of being a mere puppet of the Japanese Army. I can very well understand how such things can be, because I have heard of similar instances in other places. Where similar conditions prevail, similar

methods are adopted and similar results follow. Rarely is man original. East and West, under similar circumstances, he thinks and acts much the same, and will so continue to do.

There are wide regions not yet politically delimited. Central and South America and Africa will henceforth furnish many problems. Will Mr. Stimson's doctrine be applied to these peacefully and justly? If I am correctly informed, Mr. Stimson has renounced the application of the theory of non-recognition to Latin America. Is the theory right in one place and wrong in another? Trade considerations alone are sufficient to dictate and justify the policy of recognition. Manchukuo proclaims a policy of open door and equal opportunity. Its virgin resources invite the investment of American capital. Its increasing population opens a market for American produce. Trade should link more and more closely the nations of the earth.

If Mr. Stimson's idea should be carried out—and I hope it will not be, for the sake of his own country—will not the future historian regard his policy as another instance of the infamous interference which robbed Japan of her legitimate rights after her war with China? I know America well enough to believe that she will not follow the steps taken by Russia, France and Germany in 1895; but the logical application of Mr. Stimson's theory to Manchuria might well give rise to such criticism.

Japan must of course be prepared for the worst. She

stands alone—a small country, face to face with China, Russia and America, three of the giant nations of the earth. Japan stands alone for her right to live—not for conquest, as is so often alleged, but for the preservation of that life with which God has endowed her. One may at least give her credit for her courage.

But what I fear most for China and ultimately for the world, in case Manchukuo fails of recognition, is this: Manchuria will then become a province of China, and between the provinces of China any sort of war is tolerated, be it the most bloody and devastating, by the League and by the United States. Manchuria will fall into the hands of a war-lord and he can indulge in warfare with impunity. When General Chiang dealt a blow upon the communists in Kiangsi, ten million people fled from that province, and 100,000 homes were destroyed. When General Feng quartered his armies in Shansi and Shensi, in 1931, five million people were starved to death. As an old saying is: “One warrior wins a name and ten thousand skulls whiten the field.” In the last civil war, according to Lin Yu-tang, the casualties were twenty million in killed and wounded. Now, what has this to do with the recognition of Manchoukuo?

Let there be a few zones in China where people can enjoy peace and security. Such zones are afforded by Shanghai, Tientsin and other treaty ports under foreign protection and—by Manchuria. Thanks to the presence of the Japanese Army, this province has for many years been

the only province where civil war did not penetrate. Banditry and maladministration there always were, but it was preserved from an attack by neighboring war-lords.

Let us not look at Manchuria as merely a law case. The present issue is too big for that. Look at it from the view point of a statesman, and from that of world politics. Lawyers may find satisfaction for their logic and idealists for their conscience, by adhering to the new interpretation of the Pact ; but such intellectual satisfaction means the loss of millions of lives and hastens the disintegration of that mighty and venerable civilization which we call China, and the loss of China is a loss to the whole world. The salvation of China lies in her cooperation with Japan. Japan's future is bound up with that of China. It is Manchuria that links the two peoples together. Weak and disordered, Manchuria will fall an easy prey to Bolshevik Russia. I very much fear that Mr. Stimson's policy will end in making a present of Manchuria to Russia and creating in the Far East a perpetual storm center. In the name of humanity, then, let us exercise a little patience, study the Pact, implement it, make it practical and applicable to realities—so that the new dispensation may bring lasting peace to the Far East and to the world.

CHAPTER XVII

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

A New England clergyman once related to me a story of a boy who said that he was so often told of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers and the Plymouth Rock that he wished them to be sunk under the sea. Whenever two or three Americans and Japanese are gathered together, the shades of Commodore Perry, accompanied by the hackneyed phrase of traditional friendship, looms up—so that I sometimes wish them to share the same fate that the little boy desired to befall his Puritan Fathers. The best things can be repeated too often. I shall, therefore, pass over the sentimental remarks which in the past have tickled *many an audience*, and shall make some observations regarding the following :—

- (1) psychological affinities and differences between the Americans and Japanese ; (2) diplomatic questions ; and (3) their trade relations.¹

I

That different nations have different characteristics cannot be denied. I leave to psychologists and biologists the explanation. Fundamentally, the human race is one

¹ This last item (3) is not included in this chapter. See chapter V, particularly sections II, III ; and also (III) of Appendix B.

in spirit and toward this fundamental we are approaching. In the meantime we must try to understand and adjust the differences, and in order to do so it behooves us to study what really are the differences, and if possible, to learn to what they are due. Without them the world would be poorer. Varieties enrich human life, and we should even encourage diversities in national character.

Objectively viewed from a detached point, it seems to me that the main differences between the Americans and the Japanese may be roughly stated thus :—

1. Your ancestry is European ; ours is Asiatic. You have grown to be continental from a small island English stock. We have been confined to island life, though our forebears were mainly continental.

2. Your history as an independent people is short and new ; ours is long and old. You are not, therefore, governed so much by the past, while we are hedged about by traditions—ghosts, as I call them. Custom makes dotards of us. You will be doing injustice to yourselves if you are not original. We shall be disloyal to ourselves if we stray far from the path of our fathers.

3. You are individualistic, and, therefore, free in thought and action ; we are communistic—but, as this term is easily confused with the economic communism of to-day, I shall use another, communalistic. Individualistic implies personal freedom, and in being free you may feel less bound to others by a sense of duty, or, when you are tied to others it is by the exercise of your own free

will and personal choice. We believe that we are bound to others—parents above all—by natural ties which an individual will should not sever. We, too, as do all human beings, have individual likes and dislikes, and family ties are often broken or imperilled by them. If we cannot, for any reason, love those we ought to love, we try to feel grateful to them for the good they have done. The good may, in a sense, be imaginary, but real in the sense that every object or experience which comes our way does affect our life, and should be taken in a helpful, rather than a harmful way.

4. Being individualistic and so bent upon protecting your interests, you insist upon your rights. We, being communalistic, merge our interests in those of others and attach more importance to duties. Free competition has, therefore, been the principle of your action. Let the poor go to the wall—because the law of God willed it. With us the teaching has been the family should take care of the poorer member and relative.

5. You think you are your own masters and, therefore, care less for the opinion of others than we do, who, though we do not consider ourselves as servants of others, yet are very sensitive to what is said or thought by them.

6. Strong character is easier of expression in America, because each may follow his own inclination ; he must, therefore, be a very weak man who has not cultivated his character in this country. When strong character is formed in Japan it is the product of far greater effort and

resistance to outside influences.

7. You are less restrained in speech and action and can easily afford to be frank, but we have to be very much more cautious in what we say and do for fear of giving offence or wounding feelings. There is as great a temptation for you to be brutally frank as for us to be exasperatingly reticent.

8. You have a country over twenty times as large as ours. I do not know by what title you got this vast territory from its occupants,—perhaps not always by fair means, but now no one questions your right to it. You can shut it against others, or build high tariff walls, because you can produce almost everything you need. We have a country smaller than the single state of California and when we stretch our arms to Manchuria to obtain supplies for our industries, you think it right to push them away.

9. The size of your country has an expansive effect upon the mind. When one's outlook commands a wide horizon, hope is apt to spring eternal in his breast. A man is not then easily discouraged. When he becomes bankrupt in New York he moves to Texas and starts life anew. When he fails there he can come to Oregon, and if it happens for the third time that circumstances are against him, he need not yet despair—for he is not known in Carolina. Not so with us. A failure in one town spells a man's doom everywhere. One who kills himself in Japan has better reason for so doing than has one who commits suicide in America. On the other hand, a

Japanese burglar must be a fool, but his American *confrère* is clever in the selection of his business.

10. A country such as yours, because of its newness and size, gives many more occasions for the development of the frontier spirit. We have practically no frontier. In whatever direction we walk, we bang our head; hence, many will not go anywhere, and inactivity saps our energy.

11. With your vast resources you command great wealth. Whatever it may be in time of depression, your national wealth has been calculated (1924) at three hundred and eighty billion dollars, while ours is less than one-seventh of this amount. The wealth per head of population in America is about four times larger than that in Japan—your per capita wealth being \$3,300 and ours being \$860. In a rich country temperance or moderation is the greatest virtue; in a poor one, fortitude and diligence make up for the meager gifts of nature.

12. Your standard of living is naturally much higher than ours. You enjoy far more leisure and pleasure and, therefore, have far more of the things regarded as luxuries rather than as necessary to life—sports, houses of entertainment, bridge parties, clubs, etc. These in a way have become necessities—much, perhaps, as similar pleasures were in ancient Rome or Babylon. Men of wealth are unhappy without means for physical excitement or entertainment. We have not much of material value, either to eat or wherewith to clothe ourselves; but we

can enjoy beauty. If we cannot possess large parks and shut them to others, we can look at the hills and streams or enjoy miniature gardens in tiny boxes.

13. In this country woman is socially superior to man, and is threatening to be so intellectually. In a few decades she will be ruling the whole nation, that is the great country will become a beehive—we trust, without stings. We began our social and political organization with matriarchy, *i.e.*, with the acknowledgment of the principle of female superiority; but by experience and force of circumstances we learned to place man at the helm. By a process of elimination our concept of woman's sphere or part in the national life changed, and the quieter and less showy type survived. Our women are now coming more and more to participate in public affairs, that is to say, they are going back to their former position. Whether this is evolution or atavism depends on the ideal that one has of perfect womanhood.

14. You began your political life with the principle that all men are created equal—whatever that means. In sonic ways there is no country where people live more unequally. If God created them equal, money made them unequal. We start with the notion that men are created unequal, but through our school system, which allows no snobbishness, they are reaching equality.

15. All men being theoretically considered equal you have no respect of persons. Everyone is as good as—indeed, better than—another. It is servile to reverence

the great or to venerate the old. A father is not worthy of any special respect, unless he has some other claim than that of fatherhood. Therefore, a poor father is only a poor relative, and a poor relative is a thing to be spurned. As to men in high places, they are there for public amusement—to have fun poked at them. “Of thee I sing!”—sing comic songs. The President, the Senate, the Supreme Court are all so much material for fun and satire. We, being backward, have still something we sincerely hold high in reverence and veneration. Mere age, even, is still regarded as something to respect, and for this reason, if not for the Exclusion Act, I prefer to live at home. Even the Emperor takes note of the most aged of his subjects and presents them with a cup upon eventful occasions of his reign.

16. Strongly convinced of equality, no one is held to stand above you. Titles are despised, unless it be for an occasional marriage of your beautiful women. Religion, of which reverence is the root, becomes more and more a work of social welfare. If Wells is correct, a new revision of the Bible will have to translate Jehovah in other terms adapted to a modern conception of God as being not far superior to oneself. Being old fashioned, we shall still insist upon some things being sacred and bow our heads at the ancestral shrines, feeling that we, as did our forefathers, have something of the Divine to guard, and recognizing beauty in art and in nature—though these be untouched by the hand of man.

17. You have stimulating air to breathe, and being in the land of plenty, with food enough and to spare, you are physically fit and with your overflowing energies you delight in action. Always on the go—(though I often fail to see whether you are rushing). Every four years you change the Government—it seems to me just for the sheer delight of changing, regardless of its effect. However, I am not a republican, either by party affiliation or in principle. We, too, make changes, but not for their own sake—particularly, our Ruler's Family has been on the throne for at least two thousand years. We have no desire whatsoever to change it.

18. There is another reason for our indolence [passivity]. Our race has had experience with time. We know it is useless to force things. We know that as time and tide wait for none, we need not try to hasten their coming. We take a long view of things. When we fail now, we try again. The nation continues to plod. Patience and determination take no note of time. You are a young nation and you have achieved wonders in developing your land. You have won confidence in human strength. You cannot wait. You have even attempted to make one hundred million people temperate by a stroke of the pen.

I might go on enumerating more points of differences due to blood, history and environment, but I have said enough to hint that they constitute the richness of the world, that they complement the defects of each other.

II

I shall now turn to the consideration of some more tangible questions that from time to time fill columns, or rather headliness, of newspapers and disturb the serenity of our minds and yours. To mention but a few of them : There frequently appeared in the American press, in the last quarter of a century, rumors of Japan acquiring from Mexico a naval base on the Magdalena Bay in Lower California ; of the Japanese sinking an American dry-dock in Manila ; of the Japanese secretly charting the California harbors ; of their secret treaties with Mexico for the purpose of common attack on America ; of their forming an alliance with West Coast Indians to gain a military foothold in this country ; of Japanese diplomats writing Carranza's protests against the American invasion of Mexico ; of 200,000 Japanese troops being landed in Mexico. As to Japanese spies being seen here and there, the rumors have been without number. The sources from which these rumors emanated were varied.

It is said that the fiction about Magdalena Bay was invented by a certain company interested in land on that bay. Finding their cannery unprofitable, they were about to sell it to a Japanese firm, but in order to secure a larger price they circulated in Washington a report that the Japanese Government wished the land for military fortification. Under this pretence they tried to prevail upon the government to buy it for "national safety,"

as they put it. We still remember the scandal created by an ex-navy man who was hired by shipbuilders and steel manufacturers to lend his technical knowledge to impose upon the gullible public the approaching danger from Japan. About two months ago, on my way here from New York, I met a business man in Chicago who had just returned from Europe. He told me of a certain banker in Holland who said that the only way to foster business under the present depression was to have a war started somewhere, and that such a conflict between the United States and Japan would assume large and profitable dimensions. I might add in parenthesis that a certain American delegate I met at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown last summer told me of a Chinese student, who, when asked whether China would fight Japan, replied "Oh, no ! The United States will do that for us !"

Some of the rumors were circulated by German agencies before and during the war, being financed by what was called the "Reptile Fund." A few years ago, a German book had a wide circulation, and I saw it on every book-stand at the many German stations through which I passed. Under the title of "Yellow Pest" (*Das Gelbe Pest*), it described the Japanese navy as secretly buying from Mexico a rock in the sea near that coast and in this rock was bored a space large enough to house a laboratory devoted to the manufacture of poisonous gas with which Japan was going to attack the United States.

Such malicious propaganda is not confined to Germany. Recently a literary publication called "Tanaka's Memorial," which, in its details gives internal evidence—by misstatement about dates and incongruity of facts—that it is a fabrication, is translated into English by Chinese and widely circulated in this country. When some copies reached the American members of the Institute of Pacific Relations three years ago, they detected at once that it was a fraudulent publication and advised their fellow Chinese members to suppress it; but, nevertheless, the Chinese delegate to the Council of the League of Nations now in session is quoting from it.

But, again, these are not the only sensation mongers and mischief makers. A few American writers who pose as anthropologists, basing their arguments on wornout theories, have advocated the myth of the Nordic theory and one hundred per cent Americans, and, in order to prove their superiority, have indulged in an attempt to prove the inferiority of all orientals and particularly that of the Japanese.

On the strength of anthropological proofs long since exploded, some patriotic organizations based their hostility to the non-assimilable Japanese. They were joined by powerful Labor groups, who saw in Japanese immigration and the deftness of their hand a menace to the American standard of living.

These various causes of suspicion and ill-will to the Japanese were fortified by the Chinese and the Koreans—

little considering they, too, are included. And then some Christian missionaries in China have let themselves be drawn aside from their proper calling and have shown a mistaken political sympathy which has made them pro-this or anti-that propagandists. They have not held themselves above the battle, but have gone into the trenches.

It is far from my intention wholly to exonerate my countrymen from the responsibility of such rumors. Though we have not in our own country exact duplicates of the propagandists that have come among you, we have all sorts of "patriots," who seem to think that love is hate, that to love your country you must hate another country, and the more countries you hate, the more patriotic you are.

According to the December number of *Life*, "the professional patriot is the original jaw-bone of the original ass." Samuel Johnson defined patriotism long ago as the last resort of scoundrels. I have heard of some pamphleteers in Tokyo who make a fat living by abusing other nations, and in New York I had offers of similar service by Americans whom depression had made pro-Japanese.

There are newspapers and magazines, not excluding religious ones, which serve the purpose of vilifying either your country or mine. In Japan the most usual accusation against America is that certain persons of that nationality are spying to get military secrets and the same accusation against Japan is made in America.

I have given various causes and motives, origins and organs of inflammatory propaganda which aim at the disruption of friendly relations between the two nations. Sifted of all rubbish of suspicion and mists of propaganda, the problems that have been of importance as affecting the relations between this country and Japan may be boiled down, as Mr. Henry W. Taft says, to the following:—

“ 1. Japan’s imperialism, and particularly her alleged hegemony over the Asiatic Continent. Involved in this were (a) the Lansing-Ishii Agreement; (b) the maintenance of Japanese troops in important sections of China and Siberia; (c) the retention of the Shantung Peninsula; and (d) political control by Japan in South Manchuria due to the necessity for territorial expansion.

2. The so-called Open Door in China and the equality of treatment of all nations in trade and commerce.

3. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

4. Immigration and the California Land Question, then presenting the most difficult question to deal with.

A calm consideration of these matters was complicated (a) by persistent and sensational rumors that Japan was making preparation for war with this country, and (b) by the anti-Japanese feeling aroused in California by the agitation concerning immigration and land ownership.”

Most of the problems have been settled by negotiations between Washington and Tokyo, or in the Washington Conference. There still remain two questions,—one of long standing, and the other of very recent date. By

the former I refer to the Japanese Exclusion Act, which is so intimately connected with this particular state; and by the latter, the accusation made by Mr. Stimson that we have been guilty of violating the Kellogg Pact. Of the latter—namely, Mr. Stimson's attitude toward Japan on the Manchurian question—I dwelt on in a previous lecture. Let me, therefore, take up the immigration question.

A great deal has been written on this subject, leaving me nothing original to say. Immigration legislation is a matter for each nation to attend to. As a question of sovereign rights, or legal rights, no one doubts that America is justified. The question is whether international relations are regulated solely and entirely by legal considerations. Or even in pursuing a legal course, is there not courtesy or etiquette in settling a dispute?

This Act, excluding the Japanese, was placed on the statute book of the United States. What glory was thereby added to its pages, it is difficult for a foreigner to understand. That it was not approved by a vast number of Americans, is obvious from the protests made by many organizations of varying tradition, and from the general tone of the American newspapers, excepting, of course, those of the Hearst Syndicate—ever malignantly and maliciously hostile to Japan, as to England.

The repercussion of this legislative act on Japan was profound. She felt as though her best friend had, of a sudden and without provocation, slapped her on the cheek. She questioned the sanity of American legislators. At

heart, however silent, she does not now and never will accede to this law, passed in a manner so far from 'gentlemanly'—whatever may be the legal 'rights' of a country as regards its own enactments. Each year that passes without amendment or abrogation only strengthens and sharpens our sense of injury, which is destined to show itself, in one form or another, in personal and public intercourse. All talk of peace and goodwill is vain, so long as one nation sows in the heart of another the seeds of suspicion and resentment.

Is Japan, then, arming herself for Vengeance? Is she preparing for War? No statesman believes that the anti-Japanese clause can be exaggerated into a *casus belli*; but the evil it has done is the vitiation of mind by the loss of a noble trust in a friend, a confidence in a cause. The injury inflicted on the nation is not of a material order. Brutus' thrust was physically no more painful than that of Cassius' or Casca's; but it was the unkindest cut of all.

And yet, in the face of it all, and though the Exclusion Clause of the Immigration Law of the United States is about the only question pending between the two countries, she still holds to her faith in the integrity and the sense of honor of the American people as a whole, and is patiently abiding the time when Congress may change the law—the only way in which the wrong can be redressed. While these lines are being written, the Press reports the probable revision of the obnoxious clause.

CHAPTER XVIII

EDUCATION IN JAPAN

The Japanese have often been compared with the Ancient Greeks, though they can claim no rivals to Plato, Sophocles or Euripedes. The two peoples were certainly one in their inordinate curiosity and love of novelties. Intellectually alert, but passive, our people are always eager to learn. The country has been a school, or it may be called a laboratory, for new experiments. The adaptation of Western culture now going on is the repetition of what was tried once before in the eighth and ninth centuries with the introduction of Chinese civilization.

Education is a broad subject and a dissertation on it may stretch far and wide,—especially if it should be understood, as I understand it, to connote what remains behind when everything taught in schools and colleges is forgotten. Time forbids my making excursions on such a wide field, and I shall narrow my lecture to the following points : (1) a glance at the old system ; (2) modern compulsory system ; (3) results of the government directed education ; (4) secondary education : (5) education of women ; and (6) the place of foreign language.

I

In olden days when education, both in the broad sense

of training a nation to think and live in rational ways, and in a narrow sense of instructing the people in new knowledge, consisted chiefly in the diffusion of Chinese arts and ideas, more emphasis was placed on arts as personal accomplishments or for their utilitarian value. The Classics served as text books for the government of the land. Classics were political science. Poetry was for pleasure ; calligraphy for enjoyment ; astronomy was studied for the compilation of calendars or for auguries ; mathematics was pursued as a military science. One may say that the old Chinese education which the Japanese followed stressed the importance of the form rather than of content of expression. Memorizing and rhetoric were considered the objects of learning.

When the first schools were started in the ninth century, they were either under the direction of monasteries for the training of priests for their holy profession or under some influential nobles for the training of the young men of their families for public service. Education started as a monopoly of knowledge for religious or government functions. In either case the Chinese ideograms were the means of instruction, just exactly as Latin was in Mediæval Europe. The mastering of several thousand ideograms was in itself a tremendous strain on the youthful brain. Only later were schools established by monks for the children of laymen, and this system continued so long that even as late as the nineteenth century private schools were known as monastery cottages.

As to the studies pursued in early schools, poetry was one of the first, and in this art the part played by women was very noticeable. Our literature may be said to have evolved from poetry. First poetry, then explanations or commentaries on it, and these were followed by stories connected with it. Whoever reads Mr. Waley's translation of *Tales of Genji* will be struck by this order and development.

During the feudal age, every principality had a central college in its capital, but, as instruction was given only to samurai boys, it was related mainly to knowledge pertaining to administration and military tactics and political ethics, besides the more distinctly military arts—such as fencing, riding, archery, the use of the spear, jujutsu. Particular stress was put on the formation of character—what was called “the drilling of the abdomen.” I have said before, in speaking of *hara-kiri*, that the abdomen was conceived to be the seat of the soul.

With the rise of New Japan the conception of education underwent great change. Its center deviated from character-building, or the training of a gentleman, to the acquisition of intellectual knowledge for an utilitarian purpose. The school was made a mart of information. Pupils were graded according to cleverness and capacity for arguing.

Two leaders of the Restoration, Okubo and Kido, are said to have been the initiators of this practical movement, and their ideas are traced back to the impressions they

received during their visit to the United States in 1871. It was also at their suggestion that the first ambassador to Washington paid particular attention to the American system of education. To an American—to a Californian in particular—the story relating to these two men may be of special interest.

It is said that when Okubo and Kido, who were among the greatest makers of New Japan—occupying positions comparable to those of Jefferson and Adams in your history—arrived in San Francisco in the first embassy sent to the United States in 1871, there was going on in the town an election of some sort—whether for Governor or Mayor, I do not know. They were curious to see how much political intelligence the masses possessed. They asked a porter for whom he was going to cast his vote, and were answered that he was a Democrat; and when they further inquired for the reason, he explained that low tariff and consequent low prices were what poor men like him wanted. They put the same question to a barber, whom they found to be a Republican, and who told them that in a new country like America, people must have tariff for the protection of their new industries.

The two statesmen were profoundly impressed with the political intelligence of the masses, as typified by the porter and the barber, and they both made up their mind to make education their first and foremost concern on their return home. But the methods they adopted were different according to their different temperaments. Kido

was more emotional, idealistic and democratically inclined. Okubo was more rational, realistic and bureaucratically-minded. Kido would begin national education from the bottom, founding primary schools to elevate the masses. Okubo would first train the leaders of the nation, start institutions where the élite should be taught and prepared to teach the masses.

Immediately on their return was the policy of the government announced, and the Code of Education was issued in 1872, according to which there should be no village without a school and no child without a schooling.

II

Every child, male and female, irrespective of its social status, was obliged to attend school for four years, from the age of six to ten. The period was later lengthened to six years, and there is every prospect of adding two more at no distant future. School attendance is considered as much the duty of citizenship as military service or the payment of taxes.

How faithfully the law was carried into effect is seen in the following figures (1928) :

Number of children of school age..... 9,565,952

Attendants in primary schools 9,514,000

The rest—51,000—are excused from schools for reasons of physical infirmity or extreme poverty.

That is, out of every 100 children between six and twelve years of age, 99.46 per cent. are actually attend-

ing schools. There is a slight difference in the ratio between boys (99.49 per cent.) and girls (99.43 per cent.).

There are in Japan at present about 44,440 schools of all grades, of which 25,500 are elementary. It is the duty of every self-governing local body to build and keep up a school of its own. As it is a matter of pride for a community to possess a fine building, there is laudable emulation in providing good school equipment. This is evident from the mere fact that in most towns and villages the school is the finest building—out of all proportion to the dwellings of the villages. It is often said that Japan is a paradise for children. The racial love of children comes conspicuously into prominence in the attention that local bodies bestow upon schools.

III

Whatever may be the shortcomings to be pointed out in the over-organization of our school-system and the autocratic pressure put upon it by the bureaucracy, there is little doubt that it has to its credit some astonishing results.

The best showing of which compulsory education can boast is seen in the wide diffusion of periodicals and the vast circulation of newspapers, two of which (fortunately of highest standard) each print 2,000,000 copies daily.

By far the most important effect of compulsory education is the mental and social uplift of the masses. As a recent English writer has repeatedly stressed, there is no

cleavage in Japanese schools along class lines, no snobbishness on account of wealth or birth. The school is the most powerful agency for democracy, and it performs this function by a general development of intellect and by placing all pupils on a common footing.

Another notable advantage which the uniform national educational system has conferred on the nation is the blow it has dealt to local radical and disruptive spirit. Late in the last century it became apparent that the youths, as their barques slipped from their traditional moorings, were fast heading into breakers. They were in moral jeopardy. There were not lacking indications of youthful minds entertaining radical ideas, subversive of time-honored institutions. It was then (1890) that the famous Rescript on Education was issued by the Emperor in person. This document has had many interpreters and commentators, who have furnished the nation with the standard of what is generally called "National Morality." This term is a title given to the exposition of duties to be observed by His Majesty's loyal subjects, much as so called "Christian Ethics." The concept of human obligations was restricted to a narrow sphere, fixed by a certain norm. And yet the advocates of restriction will none the less claim universality for their system. Christian ethics are said to be applicable not only to Christians, but to the whole of humanity, and if anyone would deny this, he is simply placed outside the pale. Similarly, the "National Ethics" of the Japanese pedagogues vaunts

a universal character—on condition, one may dare to add, that man is conceived as a member of a State, and, further, that the State has absolute power over his body and soul.

IV

Of some 1,800,000 girls and boys who leave the primary schools every year, about 10 per cent. of girls and about 8 per cent. of boys go on to higher schools. The interest in girls' education has grown conspicuously since 1914, perhaps due to the general improvement in the economic condition of the country.

Of these secondary schools, there are three kinds—the normal, the technical and the humanistic. The first prepares boys and girls to qualify themselves to be teachers in elementary schools ; the second naturally divides itself into different classifications—agricultural, commercial and mechanical. The third, which is the most popular, and known as the Middle School, takes boys between the ages of thirteen and twenty years. Here, besides the usual courses of ordinary study—history, geography, rudiments of natural and physical sciences, mathematics, ethics, Japanese—English demands a good deal of time. The reason for devoting so much time to English has not been very convincing ; but, since the beginning of Meiji, English has been so popular that, by general and tacit consent of the nation, it has been occupying a prominent position in secondary education. One reason for the

popularity of English is due to the fact that the middle school has turned out, though this was not its avowed object, to be a preparatory institution for higher studies, and for the higher studies a foreign language—English, French or German—is an absolutely necessary requirement. The place of English in our educational scheme is important enough to repay further consideration.

The course of study in the secondary school is five years. At present there are more schools of this grade for girls than for boys, the respective numbers being about 700 and 500. This does not mean, however, that the education of girls receives more attention than that of boys. The reason is that there are many other opportunities open to boys, as mentioned above,—as, for instance, vocational or technical schools of secondary grade.

It is gravely to be doubted whether secondary instruction fulfils the great function of preparing boys and girls for active life as well as for higher schools. It is generally admitted that boys who leave middle schools are not fitted for any special service.

To a foreign observer, the number of years devoted to secondary education must seem strangely out of proportion to the results obtained. To the Japanese, the explanation is easy. The use of Chinese ideograms is the root of all evil in this respect. A large part of the school-life is spent in mastering some 4,000 ideograms, most of which are pronounced in three or four ways and written in at least three ways. The waste of energy thereby incurred

is worthy of the most serious consideration, and can be prevented only by the adoption of transliteration, i.e., the use of the Roman alphabet instead of Chinese ideograms.

The curious fact has come to light that the blind man can be better educated than his more fortunate brethren who are endowed with good sight; for the former, by acquiring the forty-seven letters of the *I-ro-ha* syllabary through the Braille system, can read history, geography or anything written in that system; whereas he who has eyesight cannot read the daily papers unless he has mastered at least 2,000 characters.

It is really to be questioned whether the many hours devoted in elementary and secondary education to the mastery of words and letters are not partly responsible for the passive literary and humanistic taste of the pupils, and for the enfeeblement of their reasoning power and practical ability.

V

Let us take a glance at the so-called high schools for girls, which correspond in pedagogical standing to the middle schools for boys.

The character of girls' schools varies more than that of boys', according to local conditions, but in the main features they are much the same. Their popularity is shown by the large number of pupils—about 80,000—who enter immediately after leaving primary schools at

the age of fourteen, in order to study for four or five years. Among the bourgeois class a school diploma has become an almost indispensable requisite for an advantageous marriage. As there is a custom in China according to which a bride takes with her, as a part of her dowry and a sign of good breeding, a *kakemono* by some illustrious artist or savant (or its facsimile), so has it become a custom for Japanese girls to possess the diploma of a school of high standing (of which there is no facsimile !), as a supplementary or, in some cases, a principal part of her dowry.

As the matrimonial age is advancing—the majority of our young women now marry at twenty-two or twenty-three—how to fill the intervening years between eighteen and twenty-two is an important question.

It seems proper and fitting to pay a tribute to the part played by Christian missions in the cause of female education. Scant justice is accorded to the missionaries, on whom cheap abuse is usually heaped—without fear of retaliation.

In Japan, the debt which the country—not the State as such, but society and the people—owes to Christian missions in the matter of education and philanthropy is by no means small. Especially is this true in the domain of girls' education and kindergartens. Government reports do not mention this service, because it does not fall within the aegis of governmental activity. At one time the Government disapproved of mission schools,

because they were suspected of teaching children to be unfaithful to the State and disloyal to the Sovereign.

The first school opened for girls in New Japan was a missionary enterprise. It was the Ferris Seminary in Yokohama, established in 1870, and followed in a few months by a similar institution in Tokyo. Within twenty years, no less than forty-three schools for girls were established by different missions. The first Government school for girls was brought into existence two years later—namely, in 1872.

The example given by the missions and the Government was felt by our women, who started schools on their own initiative and responsibility. In the meantime, the demand for education among ambitious young girls grew so rapidly that secondary schools were established in every town of any size, so that their number now amounts to 857.

The authorities are still conservative in their attitude towards higher education for women. The universities are not willing to admit women, partly for reasons of economy, but more because they are already overcrowded with men students. Some few faculties take in women as "hospitants." As yet, only one State university has had women graduates from the regular course, and these are still very few.

The most advanced Government institutions for women are the two higher normal colleges for women, one in Tokyo and the other in Nara. These can scarcely satisfy

one-tenth of the clamorous desire for higher education among the rising generation of women. Here, again, private individuals and missions come to the rescue. Early in this century, there were started three private colleges of good standing where women could receive a mental training nearly equivalent to that received in Government universities. One of these is Tsuda College for the study of English, the second is the Japan Woman's University started by Narusé, and the third is a Medical College. Again the mission boards have come forward in the interest of the higher education of girls. The Kobe College, the Doshisha College for Women, and the Woman's Christian College of Tokyo are eminent examples with which there are no corresponding Government institutions.

VI

Many were the attempts made by European nations to trade with Japan in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but they all failed, except the Dutch merchants who had their headquarters in Batavia. The Dutch even succeeded in establishing a small factory in Nagasaki. Known as "Southern Barbarians"—"Southern" on account of their coming from Java—they conducted a good business, and served the important purpose of a window through which Japan could look upon Europe.

There was a curious arrangement by which a few

indispensable interpreters were trained as ears and lips to carry on oral conversation with the Dutch ; but reading knowledge was prohibited on pain of death. A somewhat similar method was adopted in the case of medical students who flocked to Nagasaki. They were allowed to watch surgical operations performed by the Dutch doctors (some of these were really Germans) ; they were also allowed to learn the manipulation of instruments—but read elementary books on anatomy they might not. Notwithstanding this ruling, as the authorities began to recognize the usefulness and superiority of Western medical science, the rigor of the law was somewhat slackened, and the interpreters and students were permitted to master the “crab” writing, so called because of the horizontal penmanship of the Occident in contrast to our vertical method.

Such was the beginning of the study of European languages—now one of the most remarkable signs of our national progress, and destined to become more and more significant as our modern history unfolds itself.

Knowledge of the Dutch language was for some decades identified with the medical profession. But, as the fear of foreign invasion and of Christian propaganda lessened, the Government grew somewhat bolder in its attitude towards alien tongues, and even encouraged their study within a limited sphere. In 1811, a Translation Bureau was established, but, lodged as it was in the same building as an astronomical observatory, its activities did not touch

the earth closely. In 1854, when the country was opened to foreign trade, it became absolutely necessary that there should be interpreters and translators, so these had to descend from their lofty outlook. The Bureau was widened in scope and the "Institute for the Examination of Barbarian Books" was erected in its place. Its title was soon changed to the "Institute for the Inspection of Western Books," and eight years later altered again to the "Institute of Progress." "What's in a name?" The name shows what its giver thinks or expects of the thing named.

Because Dutch was the first modern medium by which Japan came into intellectual contact with the West, and because the science which was first studied in that language was medicine, at the dawn of the Meiji era, when the taboo on foreign tongues was entirely removed, students of medicine turned to German, linguistically so closely related to Dutch, for the reason that they could tap a larger source of knowledge.

In other than medical science, the English language took the lead, because of its commercial importance and because of the early influx of English-speaking missionaries.

In the higher institutions of learning, until the eighties of the last century, nearly all lectures on advanced subjects were given by foreign professors, each speaking in his own tongue. Since then, as technical terms were translated, more and more lectures have been delivered in

Japanese by Japanese instructors. Still, inasmuch as specialists must keep abreast of the progress made in their respective lines, all students must be familiar with one or two European languages. But when one compares the length of time devoted to language studies with the ability of students to use a foreign tongue, one is struck by a tremendous discrepancy. So lamentable is this the case that one—especially a foreigner—is apt to despair.

Yet the knowledge of foreign languages has been far-reaching in its effects :

1. The most evident effect of the study of foreign languages is the enlargement of the national vocabulary. Hundreds of English words have been incorporated into Japanese. Some of these words can be easily translated, but they are nevertheless used in the original, except in strictly Japanese composition.

2. A highly interesting and useful result of the study of foreign languages is the fact that it has led to intelligent research of our native tongue.

3. As the knowledge of a foreign tongue spreads, the advantages of an alphabetic over a syllabic system of writing suggests itself. Transliteration, or Romanization, by which is meant writing Japanese words in Latin letters of the alphabet, has been a question seriously discussed.

4. The study of its tongues has brought the West nearer in every way. It has exerted a potent influence in cultivating the international mind, by which I mean

that attitude of mind which enables one to see things from a world point of view.

5. It does not take a genius to know that "words are things, and a small drop of ink, falling like dew, upon a thought, produces that which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think."

From what is going on around us, we may expect the saying of Emerson to apply to Japanese speech more than to English, to which he referred when he said that it will be "the sea that receives tributaries from every region under heaven," and thus make of nations and races units of a larger human brotherhood.

xi. 30. 1932.

CHAPTER XIX

NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

The following story is told of Benjamin Franklin. On a certain occasion he was dining with the French and English ambassadors, when each proposed a toast to his own country. "England," said the British ambassador, "the sun, whose brightest beams enlighten and fructify the remotest corners of the earth." The Frenchman, not to be outdone, proposed "France, the moon, whose mild, steady, cheering rays are the delight of all nations, consoling them in darkness and making their dreariness beautiful." They were followed by Franklin's rejoinder, "George Washington, the Joshua, who commanded the sun and moon to stand still, and they obeyed him."

A speech extolling one's own country is not taken as improper or vain. Nor should the speaker be condemned for immodesty when he is pleading for his own people.

So, with your permission, I should like to present to you this afternoon the chief characteristics of my race, not indeed in unmixed praise or approbation, but with some adverse comments, in the hope that their defects may be lessened. Let me remark at the outset that the traits which I shall mention are not the monopoly of our race, nor are they so common that tourists may notice

them in shops and fields. When I call them national characteristics I mean that they are the traits most cherished and admired by the people, traits of which our poets delight to sing, which historians depict with enthusiasm and moralists hold as examples. They may not be the highest of human virtues. They may be misconceived or misapplied, but when this occurs, they are apt to be condoned, and then continue to sway the popular mind.

A list of such characteristics might be extended to include all that one holds precious as the possession of the human soul ; but, without being too modest, I should like to name twelve as peculiarly shown by our people.

1. *Patriotism.* No nation is wanting in this virtue, if virtue it can be called. The local love of the land on which one is born and bred is so natural that we see it even among animals. In the case of man it is not attached to the habitat only. It includes the traditions connected with it, as illustrated by the Jews who have no territory of their own, but are nevertheless intensely patriotic. It is a sublimation of the herd instinct, and a people geographically isolated, exposed to dangers from strong neighbors, develop the instinct for self-preservation. Heine speaks of the three ways in which patriotism shows itself. "An Englishman loves his country as he loves his wife ; a Frenchman loves his country as he does his mistress, and a German as he loves his grandmother." May I add that the Japanese loves his country as he loves its ancestress, the Sun Goddess, namely, with awe and

reverence. Patriotism with us is well-nigh a religion; and for that very reason is exposed to the same danger, the danger of hypocrisy, professional patriotism or bigotry, zeal beyond reason. A true lover of his country is not blind to its faults. An extrovert patriot is apt to be a Chauvinist, loving the very soil of his country, but an introvert patriot has an ideal for his people, and, like Hebrew prophets, he bewails the sins as well as the wrongs of his land. Jesus Christ himself was not only the son of God, not merely a son of man and as such a cosmopolite, but a son of Judea and a patriot of the highest order. How he mourned and lamented over Jerusalem ! "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not !" This touching yearning for one's fellow countrymen, and this strong, gentle reprimand in a tone of reproof, "And ye would not," shows the very depth of tenderness and solicitude. It sounds unlike an ordinary outburst of patriotism, quite different from exultation and high-flown oration. "As a hen gathereth her chickens"—is it not proper to call it Matriotism instead of Patriotism? There is, in our language, a word of Chinese derivation, *Yū-koku*, *Yū* meaning Sorrowing or Lamenting and *koku*, country. This was a term in vogue at the time before *Ai-koku* (*Ai*, love ; *koku*, country) came into common use in the last sixty years. I have asked many scholars whether there is an exact equivalent in English for *Yū-koku*. My good friend, Mr. Galen Fisher, after

much thinking, suggested the term "Matriotism," and I have since found its illustration in the text I have quoted from the Bible. If you ask what is the difference in parental love, be it of father or of mother, the answer is given by one of your greatest New England poets, James Russell Lowell, in a couplet familiar to you all :

" He sings to the wide world and she to her nest,
In the nice ear of Nature which song is the best ? "

Which form one's love of country will take, the maternal or paternal, will depend upon the temperament of individuals or the occasions which call forth its expression. With introvert natures, their love of country assumes a feminine form, while in the extrovert a masculine attitude predominates. Occasions involving foreign complications call forth and need the masculine temper of patriotism. *He* sings to the outside world. Or at the approach of a great national change, the cock crows to give a signal. But in the every-day affairs of a people's life, when they attend to the prosaic routine and the peaceful pursuits of happiness, no true lover of his country can be unconscious of or insensible to the sufferings and sins of his own country, the imperfections of its social institutions, the injustices of its laws. Then will his anxiety and sympathy show themselves in a motherly fashion. *She* sings to her nest and broods over the future, not without pain, but as though a sword had pierced her heart.

While *Ai-koku*, patriotism, is apt to be aggressive and to strike at the least sign of offence, *Yū-koku*, matriotism,

is conciliatory, amenable to the gentle arguments of friendship. No country can dispense with either form of *amor patriae*. A strong foreign policy does not mean isolation or hostility ; it means the maintenance of peaceful relations with dignity and justice. But the maintenance of good relations are nowadays unthinkable without cooperation. Hence, also patriotism, far from being a negation of internationalism, should be its strongest support. The antithesis of patriotism is not internationalism, but chauvinism. And the antithesis of internationalism is not patriotism but fantastic cosmopolitanism. The time is long past when Englishmen objected to joining the Universal Postal Union because such an action was feared to be derogatory to the sovereignty of their country, or when America hesitated to take part in the International Red Cross because such a step might jeopardize the principle of the Monroe Doctrine.

2. *National Unity.* From the intense patriotism that characterizes our people, we may draw a corollary pointing to strong national unity. We may regard this sense as a biological necessity of the aggregation of men occupying a small and isolated habitat. For centuries they lived by themselves ; but this alone would never have fostered the consciousness of unity, especially as they are so mixed in race. Only the sense of insecurity from outside can unite a nation. The Mongol invasions of the Middle Ages were the first intimation of such a danger. More recently we have been under the menace of another

military power.

At present there is no small criticism of the Japanese policy in Manchuria from Mr. Stimson and from the American press. Whenever a foreign attack, be it by the sword or by the pen, is made on our country, its people forget the differences that in ordinary times exist among them and unite in defence of it.

I remember talking with Dr. George Kennan, who was resident in Japan during the Russo-Japanese war. When I asked him whom he thought to be the outstanding personality leading the nation at that time, he replied, "I have as yet met no single individual who struck me as great. But I see that the work you are doing is of the first magnitude, and that proves that there must be great minds somewhere; or is it the greatness and strength of the collective mind?" Most certainly in union there is strength, and in collectivity, power. But in mere unity there is no individual initiative, which is the source of all progress, and in enforcing unity the canaille is apt to show intolerance to the best and highest of their own compatriots. There is unreasoned and blind unity in a mob, and a whole nation can turn into a mob, unless the wise saying of Confucius is heeded, that one subject who "disputes," i.e. disagrees with his Sovereign, may save the nation, and a single voice raised against a mob may deliver a country from ruin.

3. *Loyalty.* Our national unity and racial collectivity find their highest expression and symbol in the Emperor.

He stands for the nation. He is the personification of the race. If the widely scattered British race finds in its King a common rallying point, the Japanese, restricted to a small area, feel the more deeply that they have in their Ruler the representative of the great family of which they are members. Loyalty, to become so deeply and sincerely rooted as with us, is not a virtue inculcated on paper. It is not a discipline enforced from without. It is largely a historical product, a sentiment deepened by experience, an accretion of respect for good rulers gathered through centuries. It speaks well for the character of the royal family ; for, if they had at any time forfeited the confidence and love of the people, they would not have elicited this ardor of devotion. In Europe dynastic rule is considered a well-nigh obsolete form of government. Why? Because dynasties, in trying to maintain their power, have fought with rival families, regardless of the sufferings imposed upon the people. They were like the present war-lords of China, or like the mediæval daimyo of Japan. But our Imperial Family has never waged a dynastic war for the simple reason that there was no rival. It is unique in this, that it has no family name. It should not, therefore, be considered a dynasty in the European sense. A family without a name of its own, but whose name is one and the same with the whole nation.

4. *National Continuity.* If our people are not individualistically as fully developed as many a Western race, they have evolved a sense of national personality

that few nations have. The sentiment of unity is one indication of this, that of continuity is another. Symbolized by the ruling house, the nation has kept up its continuity for twenty centuries. The most imposing ceremony connected with the coronation is the night vigil of the Emperor, when he waits in person and in symbolism on the founder of his family, and partakes of a repast with her in the silence of the night and in primitive surroundings which remind him of the very dawn of his race. I am not arguing whether continuous rule by a single family is the highest political ideal or not. A government is not a theory. It is too serious an institution to be experimented with. It is an empirical product, varying in time and space. No two peoples have an identical form of government. Two nations as allied as the Swedish and the Norwegian have different forms; so do the English and the American, and the French and the Italian. Longevity and efficiency are the test of governmental form. The fact that the Japanese Ruling House has been in the enjoyment of its prestige, unbroken since its beginning, is the best argument that it is the right state form for Japan and its past is the guarantee for its future.

5. *Self-abnegation.* Be the ultimate object national unity or continuity, patriotism or loyalty, the immediate demand made on an individual in society is the surrender of himself to the general good, the absorption of a small ego in the great entity of the nation. This perhaps comes to the Japanese more easily than to the Westerner because

of the long training to look upon self as only a part of a larger whole. Both Buddhism and Shinto have taught this simple lesson. Impersonality has been their philosophy and depersonalization has been their moral teaching. This accounts for the disdain of death, and that negative form of bravery which sustains man in the hour of his departure. Not like a rose that rots on the stem, but like a cherry-flower that leaves the tree of life at the sudden call of a zephyr, even at the height of its glory, or like a maple leaf fluttering in the autumn breeze, when it is garbed in splendor. It does not take Browning to teach us that it is the last of life for which the first was made. "To die beautifully" is a phrase that one hears from the lips of peasants as well as from the lips of the great. Death is conceived as being a promotion; self-renunciation becomes an act of no great heroism. I should not paint my country as the land of heroes. We have more than enough of cowards and scoundrels. But few actions stir our feelings more than those of self-denial or self-sacrifice. Few scenes are admired more than brave and beautiful deaths.

6. *The Sense of Duty and of Responsibility.* Here again, due to the consciousness of social collectivity and solidarity, the sense of obligation of the parts to the whole has been strongly developed. This sense of obligation assumes in its highest form that of gratitude for personal safety and welfare afforded by society; but in a lower form it shows itself as *giri*, a word hard to translate.

Literally translated "right reason," *giri* is the counterpart of the herd instinct; it is the co-respondent to the demands of society. The term is used often in connection with, or rather in contrast to, *ninjo*, which means the natural desire of the human heart, the *libido*. When what one naturally craves for is not sanctioned by society, the *ninjo* has to succumb to *giri*, one's desire must yield to duty. The struggle between the two forces—the strong yearning of the heart and the stern voice of duty, is a favorite theme of dramatists, and the general populace has been for generations educated, if not in the choice, at least in deliberation as to the best way to meet the dilemma. There is perhaps no subject which is more debated in a Japanese family, not as an abstract principle but as in its practical application, than a balance between *giri* and *ninjo*, with the usual conclusion, that duty has the first claim.

7. *Sense of Honor.* Largely owing to the teaching of old Bushido ethics, there is developed among us a keen sense of honor, which oft-times transcends the limit of prudence and becomes quixotic. It also, not infrequently, deteriorates into mere sensitiveness or takes upon itself the form of quick annoyance at supposed insult. At times, too, it warps into rigid formalism. Nonetheless, it is a quality far to be preferred to callousness to shame. A remark one hears so frequently—that the Japanese are a proud people—is well founded on fact. As individuals they may talk and behave in a humble manner, but as a nation they will ill-brook any slight, regarding unkind

is proud of his nationality. There is fierceness at times in his demeanor; but in calmer moments the gentler sentiments of pity (*awaré*) and compassion (*nasaké*) grip his soul, and then he weeps like a woman. In his normal state he is a cheerful being, fond of fun, convivial with his companions and care-free like a child—yet seldom unmindful of the sadness of life. He is not moody—but his mood is natural; he is very human, nor does he aspire to be anything but human. His very gods are human.

10. *Love of and Contact with Nature.* Usually art and nature are conceived as opposites. But a truly artistic sense is natural. Art is the imitation and appreciation of nature. Nature is the original inspiration of art, and art is an interpretation of nature. In spite of the many points of likeness between the ancient Hellenes and the Japanese, one is struck with the great difference in the objects each selected as a source of inspiration and artistic creation. The Hellenes depicted human form and human passions. The Japanese portrayed nature as it presented itself to the eyes of *awaré* and *nasaké*. They interpret nature in terms of sentiment, and since sentiment is fathomless, the observations of our people regarding natural phenomena have been keen and minute. I hesitate to call them profound. I believe they have lacked the power of generalization from observed facts. They have not carried out investigation. They merely noted phenomena in a reverent or artistic spirit. Their observations have been confined chiefly to their immediate surroundings—not to the sun

and stars but to the flowers and insects. To them the size of natural objects has mattered little, as these have been regarded as symbolic of some abstract lesson.

11. *Talent for Detail.* As suggested in the foregoing paragraph, the Japanese are adept in the observation of minutæ and this talent is shown in their scrupulous attention to detail—whether this refers to government functions or to artistic works or to scientific research or literary productions. In the functions of government, every detail is regulated, even to the extent of vexatious red tape. In art, from the *netsuké* up to the construction of the *Dai-butsū*, the artist and the artizan spend their time in attending to the smallest parts of their handiwork. The reputation which our men have won in science has not been in large generalization but in painstaking research work. They are great in little things. May they not be little in great things !

12. *Realistic Psychology.* The realistic side of our national character has been repeatedly emphasized. It is so apparent in our public life that we have often been dubbed the Yankees or the English of the East. We have also been compared with the practical Romans in contrast to the idealistic Athenians. My humble opinion is that in love of novelty and the appreciation of the beautiful we are like the Hellenes, though we do not aspire to the level of their intellect; neither do we pretend to rival the Hindoo and ancient Chinese in theorizing. We stick to realities. Our energies are directed to the solution of

practical questions as they present themselves from day to day. That is why we maintain our unity and independence as a nation. The intellectually superior races have carried analysis and dialectics to the extent of disrupting their country. How short was the glory that was Athens ! She flashed like a meteor for thirty years, and, even if we take into account its afterglow, this lasted scarcely eighty years—the length of our Nara period—and then as an independent nation it practically vanished. India and China with their great gifts will no doubt contribute much to the progress of mankind, but as to being efficient political entities, they give no earnest of their future.

Thus, I shall end this address as I began it. Not being in a diplomatic circle or at a dining table, I shall not drink a toast to Japan. Let England boast of the sun, whose early rays first strike Japan and then go on to shed their light upon British dominions. Let France rejoice in the moon, which of all the heavenly bodies most properly belongs to our people—according to the dictum that nature is the possession of those who love her best. As to Joshua, I fail to see why he should have been taken so seriously in so trifling a matter as that which our gods used to look upon as a mere pastime !

APPENDIX A

DRAFT FOR ADDRESS AT THE INAUGURAL DINNER AT THE BANFF CONFERENCE OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, 1933

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Fellow Members of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Ladies and Gentlemen :

In expressing my heartiest thanks on behalf of the Japanese delegation to the Canadian Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations for the cordial hospitality extended to us, may I be allowed to take the opportunity of reminding ourselves anew of the gravity of our responsibility and the importance of our present gathering ?

The Institute is now meeting for the fifth time. Each conference proves more important than the one preceding. The world takes us more and more seriously. They watch us more closely now than ever. We owe to them that we shall not have met in vain. In the past we met sometimes under most trying circumstances to discuss questions of a high controversial nature, and yet, thanks to the spirit of fair-play and of mutual forbearance and respect, we never failed to part as friends. As friends of a great common cause—namely the promotion of good will in the regions washed by the waters of the Pacific—we meet again. And every time we meet our knowledge of the joys and sorrows, of the trials and tasks of the

nations bordering on this Ocean grows, and we go home each with deeper respect and sympathy for the other. And if we can do this again, we shall have done the world a service. For, what the world most wants is a clear understanding of where its various nations stand on the great problems that harass them today.

The Institute looks to the aid of science and the use of scientific method for the description as well as the explanation and the solution of the problems before us. We do not pretend to be a body of scientists in the narrow sense of the term ; but the method of the Institute is scientific and, more important still, we participate in its deliberations in a scientific spirit—in the sense of being objective and not sensational, calm and not excited, bent on finding facts and not starting with or led by a bias. I venture to remark that it is more scientific, because it is wiser, to discover points of contact rather than points of conflict in the intercourse of nations. I shall even dare to say that it is the duty of science to regain balance when it is disturbed ; for, when equipoise is lost in the relations of peoples there are usually causes more fundamental than political or diplomatic. In treating a national or an international issue we must seek for its economic, cultural and emotional sources. The strength of our Institute lies in the stress it places on investigation with a view to finding the causes of possible disturbance among the Pacific Powers and devising ways of healing them.

Not infrequently is the Institute criticized for its in-

adequacy to deal with impending political questions. That is not its aim or its pretension. Just as well blame a candle for not doing the work of a butcher's knife, or a physician for not doing a carpenter's job. We are not a diplomatic body. Our duty is to discover facts and to throw light on dark subjects and in dark places. Our function is to diagnose, and further than prescribing remedies we can not go. And we flatter ourselves that our work is showing results—albeit slowly. Slowly, to be sure—but surely too. Science, like art, is long, and its influence takes time to tell. The more so, when our scientific research deals chiefly with social, economic and cultural subjects, hidden from ordinary eyes.

Now ladies and gentlemen, it is my privilege to assure you, in the name of the Japanese delegation, that the Institute shall have our earnest coöperation. In the course of the last ten years we have presented not only a number of data papers at each session, but some volumes of reports of our Research Committee containing subject matter not easily obtainable elsewhere. A few years ago a pretty thoroughgoing investigation was made of our agriculture and this year a study on the vexed question of boycotts is presented. We hope that in a few years we shall be able to lay before you some illuminating essays on the various phases of our national life.

One more observation—and I am done. When I speak in such strong terms of our readiness to coöperate in an international organization like the Institute, I am

confident that I am voicing the sentiment of my fellow countrymen, faithful and loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor, who, in a Rescript relating to Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, spoke in no uncertain sound his conviction of the need of international co-operation and his desire for universal peace. I can not finish my address better than by reading the last half of His Majesty's Rescript.

"The advancement of international peace is what, as evermore, We desire, and Our attitude toward enterprises of peace shall sustain no change. By leaving the League and embarking on a course of its own, Our Empire does not mean that it will stand aloof in the Extreme Orient nor that it will isolate itself thereby from the fraternity of nations. It is Our desire to promote mutual confidence between Our Empire and all the other Powers and to make known the justice of its cause throughout the world.

Every country is overtaken today by emergencies of an unprecedented magnitude. Our Empire itself is confronted by a situation fraught with momentous possibilities. It is indeed an hour that calls for an intensification of effort on the part of Our entire nation. We command that all public servants, whether civil or military, shall faithfully perform each his appointed duty, and that all private citizens shall pursue their wonted tasks with diligence. Stray not, in advancing, from the path of rectitude; and in action, embrace always the golden

mean. Strive to meet the present situation with a united will and with courage and resolution. So may ye carry forward the glorious work bequeathed by Our Grandsire and contribute to the prosperity and well-being of Mankind."

It is in the spirit of this Rescript that we are here with you to-night.

APPENDIX B

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION

I

As I stand in this place and look at the faces before me, I am appalled at my audacity : for I feel like a mediæval survivor in the presence of a most advanced company of men and women. I was born when my country was still in the full swing of mature feudalism and rigid isolation. The dominion of the *daimyo* under whom my forebears had served for some twenty generations in a more or less public capacity comprised an area of the size of Massachusetts (over 8,000 square miles) slightly larger than Wales or Westphalia, in the northeastern part of Japan. As a small boy under ten, I remember taking my first lessons, besides reading and writing, in the art of swordsmanship, the use of the spear, in *jujitsu*, in passing nights without sleep, in visiting haunted places and in that Spartan discipline which would inure young nerves to hardships and trials. I remember well the etiquette I should observe to my superiors and to my inferiors, to my liege lord and to my servants and tenants. I was instructed to obey the one and to protect these others. The little principality was to delimit my mental horizon. My conscience knew no higher duty than to serve my

suzerain. Still worse did the feudal princes fare; for each, bounded in his nut-shell, counted himself a king of infinite space, until bad dreams disturbed him.

Then came the Restoration in 1868. It tolled the knell of feudalism. Suddenly I was taken from the small pond of a feudal principality into the sea of a national state. My loyalty had to be transferred intact from a *daimyo* to an Emperor. The daily routine of life was suddenly changed. No use any more for swords and spears, even for the *samurai*. If he wished to be a warrior, other weapons were now to be manipulated. If he desired to become a scholar, other books than the Confucian classics were to be studied. For, with the opening of the country to foreign intercourse the whole scheme of life and the institutions of the land were subjected to violent transformations. We had to take new bearings in every sphere of activity.

Thus, the instant I was transported into a sea from a pond I was brought to look upon a vast ocean, a great Western ocean—*Seiyō*—whose waves beat upon our shores with enticing murmurs, but whose waters threatened at times to swallow up our little island.

It was not in seasons of calm weather, nor was it when inland far we could roam in idyllic contemplation, that we caught sight of that immense ocean. It was at the time of a great internal upheaval that our nation came in contact with the West. It was as though the Renaissance, the Revolution, the Reformation and the Reconstruction

came all at once. Every household had to manage a wedding and a funeral on the self-same day—and that not for the sake of thrift, "the funeral baked meats" to "coldly furnish forth the marriage tables;" but it happened in the divine economy of the universe, since the opening of Japan was a necessary result of many world forces. The wide ocean upon whose borders I was thrust as a lad was calm on the surface, but it was not hard to hear its deep-toned moans and at times its ominous groans. The West came East speaking gently but carrying a big stick.

'If I have, in speaking of myself, imposed too much on your indulgence, I beg of you to regard me not as a person but as a type of millions of men and women throughout the world—and dare I say of tens of governments? A large majority of mankind still refuse to take a glimpse into a larger form of association than their own nation, and their vision is darkened by the shadows of feudalism. Having covered a stretch of three score years and ten, I believe I have outlived two generations and two periods, and I further believe that I am standing on the verge of the third period in the history of my people—and perhaps of many peoples.

Throwing aside the metaphor, the first of the periods to which I refer is the feudal period prior to the Meiji Restoration. The second is that of national regeneration and expansion, and the third is to be the age of international coöperation. Thus considered, is not our history

typical of the historical sequences of Western civilization? The eighteenth century was still haunted by the shades of feudalism; the nineteenth was an age of nationalism, and this century should mark a new era of international coöperation.

II

Just at this moment, when the press is full of communications that Japan may at any moment leave the League of Nations, which is the greatest organ of international coöperation as yet devised by man, it may seem insincere on my part to speak in this assembly, containing citizens of many nationalities, on the subject which my fatherland seems inclined to reject. But Japan is committed, as I shall explain in my next lecture,¹ to international collaboration, and if she should feel obliged to leave the League on a definite issue, it does not indicate that she will thereby isolate herself from the rest of the world, any more than does America by not joining the League. And right here may I express my sincere hope that Japan will not leave the League and that America will join it. We have learned many things from America—especially in dealing with neighboring unstable governments, and when we put the lessons into practice, we are severely criticized by our teacher. I hope we shall not follow her lesson about Geneva. May we for once act as a

¹ "Basic Principles of Japanese Politics," the substance of which is included in Chapter VI "Magna Charta of Japan."

teacher by faithfully staying in the League and setting an example for forbearance, self-abnegation and willingness to coöperate ! The League of Nations without Russia or America is of comparatively little use to us. In our foreign relations we have most to do with China, and the issues between us belong strictly to the two nations. We, therefore, prefer direct negotiation ; but, if we except China, fifty per cent. of our foreign dealings are with Russia and America. Tokyo is lonely in Geneva without Washington and Moscow. These three cities cover a wide stretch in ideology, and if they can sit at a round table with London and Paris, they can control the weather of the Far Eastern sky. But in the absence of the United States and Soviet Russia, the twelve years Japan has sat there, she has largely been a spectator of European events that concerned her little. But she has sat there correctly, in spite of the fact that at its very inception the League gave rise to a doubt that Geneva may not prove perfectly fair or just. I refer to the fact that when the Japanese delegate proposed to the Peace Conference at Paris that a clause regarding race equality (something equivalent to the phrasing in your own Declaration of Independence to the effect that all men are born equal) should be inserted in the preamble or somewhere in the Covenant itself, Mr. Wilson, with the backing of the British Dominions, refused to accept the proposal. Naturally it was suspected that Japan may subsequently utilize the clause to demand unrestricted immigration to the United States or British

Dominions. Our delegates explained and gave their word of honor that no such *pensée arrière* was in their mind, and notwithstanding that the resolution had been carried by a large majority, it was turned down. This was a tremendous blow to our peace lovers. It gave us the impression that on some vital issues we may be discriminated against. It is evident that unless human equality is fully acknowledged, hearty international teamwork will be impossible.

We admit, however, that equality presupposes the possession of certain common conditions. In order to sit at the same table, various states must have certain qualities and qualifications. The League of Nations should accept for membership only those nations which are well organized and ordered, so that their governments may assume responsibility for their actions as against other nations. If there be one disorganized and disordered member in the League, the whole body will be unable to function properly.

This, then, seems to me to be the first condition for successful international coöperation—that all well-organized states be considered equal; and that if there are differences, these consist in gifts and not in rights, and the greater the difference in the gifts, the more valuable. St. Paul's words are not too antiquated to be quoted: "As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body:"—and so must it be in the world community. We must

always remember, however, that the functions of the various members vary greatly in importance. There are vital organs and organs that can be dispensed with. There are issues that affect a great Power, upon which small and unconcerned nations, however large their number, should not exercise a controlling influence.

III

The diverse gifts of nations are best illustrated in international trade and finance. Their growth in such enterprises is the most tangible proof and index of the economic interdependence of nations. The material needs of man cannot be satisfied within the precincts of the country of his birth, and as his standard of living and comforts rise, so must also mutual trade develop. If we take the needs of a man not as an individual, but as a member of a body politique—or even if we take the needs of a state as a whole—what country can dispense with foreign trade? Even in an age when nationalism is still the guiding principle of human aggregation, and independence and sovereignty the highest ethics of cohesive life, scarcely any country, not even the biggest, can be entirely self-sufficient. We may only recall the fact that though the United States is so richly endowed by Nature, she cannot produce at least thirty of the materials essential to war. As to other countries, materials essential to war that are lacking within their boundaries will outdistance the American list by several times. For those primitive

days when the bitterest enemies had to barter their products, as in the "silent trade" of some African tribes, the exchange of commodities has been the most impelling cause of international collaboration.

The mutual goodwill engendered by the reciprocal advantages of commerce is so obvious that Cobden thought he could abolish war by free trade. And Mr. Norman Angell believed that the economic and financial interlocking of countries will make war extremely unprofitable and practically impossible. When the Great War was started, men laughed at the theories of these idealists ; but have we not seen or are we not now seeing, twelve years after the War ended, that it is the dislocation of economic relations caused by War among nations, as well as within nations, that prevents them from a more harmonious collaboration one with another, in other than economic respects ? Economic interdependence and militarism may be called the opposite poles of national and international action. The necessity of mutual interchange of goods, amounting to some sixty billion dollars a year, will, at no great distance of time, modify our conception of the absolute independence of states. The once discarded dictum of Herbert Spencer comes again to the fore—that the industrial type of society will supersede the militant type. And I am reminded of a page in our feudal history, where it is clearly shown that the proud *samurai* had to give way to the once despised merchant. Liberty and democracy, lawfully observed

silk; but though nets can be made of cords, brocades are woven of thin filaments of many colors.

The Handbook of International Organizations, issued by the Secretariat of the League in 1927, enumerates four hundred and seventy-three permanent and non-governmental offices devoted to international coöperation in some field of human activity and supported by private enterprise. They are classified as follows:—

1	Pacifism	14
2	Law and Administration	32
3	Labor	56
4	Education	28
5	Feminism	4
6	Sports and Tourism	30
7	Humanitarianism, Religion and Morals	79
8	Economics and Finance	9
9	Agriculture	16
10	Trade and Industry	26
11	Transit and Communication	33
12	Arts and Sciences	74
13	Medicine and Hygiene	31
14	Miscellaneous (Language, Library, etc.)	41

Every one of these can be expanded in scope, increased in membership or improved in efficiency. They show what and how individuals can contribute to the cause of enlarging the work of nations. They also show that there is no domain of thought, no field of activity, into which international spirit cannot be injected. There was, until the War, an international association for the rational eradication of rats!

A private international organization may at first be no more than a tea-party or a Round Table—a place to debate or exchange views and information. It may pass resolutions which may reach governments, only to be shelved or to be returned. If resolutions are wise, such gatherings are attended by government delegates and their opinion may sway the policies of states. If this is repeated, the gathering will be better organized and become a permanent institution which the government will respect and use as an advisory body. Such seems to be a usual process in the formation of many a useful international organization.

IV

I have been dwelling chiefly on economic and financial agencies as a powerful factor in the development of international coöperation. Some of the proudest achievements of the League were the financial rehabilitation of Austria and Hungary, and Mr. Baldwin seemed inclined to the view that the functions of the League should largely lie in the direction of public finance.

I have alluded *en passant* to the Labor Office as another powerful factor. The subject is too familiar to elucidate. The strength of laborers is in number; the number is fortified by the theory of social justice. As the wrongs they suffer are much the same everywhere, mutual sympathy is easy to arouse beyond the boundaries of their respective countries. And when the workers of the world

within a country, will contribute to the upbuilding of an international structure in which every nation will enjoy not only the benefits of commerce but equal rights and equal liberty.

The geographical frontiers of the State, fixed by man or nature, and guarded by gendarmes, have in many instances been practically eliminated and been replaced by other significant lines, namely channels of trade and movements of capital. We shall have still to look to their power for further interlocking of nations. The formation of great cartels and of big industrial enterprises, which carry on business on an international scale, aid the cause of co-operation, unless they fall into the temptation of abusing government patronage for purposes of exploitation. The collaboration of the central banks of various countries had scarcely been thought of, until the establishment of the Bank for International Settlements only two years ago. While its primary object is limited to handling business connected with reparations, it is rather to other and ordinary functions of the bank that we look for its future usefulness.

But international trade and business, like everything else, are a two-edged sword, and can counteract the work of international team work. Commercial rivalry, high tariff, can even lead nations to war. What the League of Nations has done for the better understanding among the countries of Europe has been sadly counteracted by competitive production and high tariff walls. But as long

as competition is accepted as the rule of economic life within a nation, the competition of one nation with another follows as a logical consequence. Economic nationalism is undoing the work of Geneva. Deplorable as things are at present, they would be far worse, if fifty-six nations did not coöperate within the ambit of the League. As water can never rise above its source, no country can have a foreign policy higher than the policy it exercises at home, unless pressure be exercised from without: Only—such pressure must be responded to from within.

The encouragement of voluntary bodies of businessmen,—e.g. Chambers of Commerce, of Trade and Industries, of banking houses, of allied corporations, to meet in international conventions will greatly aid the progress of international coöperation. I am afraid that the important part played by unofficial bodies in developing international coöperation is not duly appreciated.

International coöperation best begins in the initiative of private individuals interested in a certain line of work. Being less restrained and responsible than governments, these voluntary organizations are in a position to reflect more faithfully the opinions and sentiments of nations, albeit of restricted circles. If the international connections they make lack the force and authority of a government, they are more intimate and sincere. If public international unions are like strong cords of hemp, the private international organizations are like thin threads of

are united, no power can match theirs.

International labor conferences of various kinds were held in many European cities in the last half of the last century. Their incendiary speeches and radical reform proposals became so threatening to the general peace of society that the very term "International" became one of opprobrium and terror. Unable to control their activity, the various governments learned their tactics and met in 1890 for the first time, with the exclusive aim of discussing labor questions, particularly with reference to mining, child labor and Sunday employment. This was followed by many unofficial and official conferences and early in this century some important legislative steps were taken for the protection of laborers. Then in the Versailles Treaty was inscribed a special section, Part XIII, known as the Labor Charter, which declared in the preamble that universal peace must be based on social justice, and, in order to secure this, precautionary measures must be taken for the improvement of labor conditions, and further, in order to carry out these measures, a permanent international Labor Organization was necessary.

The record of the Labor Organization in the thirteen years of its existence under the able administration of Monsieur Albert Thomas, lately deceased, has been remarkable and widely beneficent. Few agencies have been more fruitful in improving the social condition of workers and in educating the governments of the world

to the fact that no country can nowadays be a water-tight compartment.

But besides this official body there are some sixty international voluntary (that is, unofficial) organizations of labor, varying greatly in the size of membership and in the character of trades represented. They comprise unions of cooks, hairdressers, tailors, hatters, miners, metal-workers, stone-cutters, wood-workers, diamond cutters, textile workers, manual workers, factory hands; peasants, etc. Many of these organizations are co-ordinating bodies, being federations of national associations. With their ramifications in many countries, they exercise a strong influence in aligning nations more closely. Miss Jane Addams has elevated the international relations of labor to the high plane of morality in which the spring of action flows from the milk of human kindness—what Mencius calls the irresistible impulse of compassion; “the simple function,” as she calls it, “of protecting the weak and of feeding those who are hungry.”

V

To him who has seen the B. I. T. or I. L. O. (Bureau International de Travail or International Labor Office) functioning in Geneva, a question naturally arises—can't we adopt a similar method for the alleviation of those who are engaged in non-manual labor? For they, too, are often victims of ruthless capitalism and competition, and are helpless against social injustice. But for the intel-

lectual workers and professional men, there was no Marx crying, "Workers of the world, unite!" It is true that there is any number of associations, federations, unions, of every kind for the promotion of the welfare of the professional classes, including teachers of various grades, artists, musicians, physicians, authors and others; but as their vocations vary so widely in kind as not to permit such close union among them as is possible in manual labor, the work of uniting or co-ordinating them in one uniform comprehensive body is hard to realize. Monsieur Henri Lafontaine, a Belgian Senator, proposed in the first Assembly of the League of Nations, that the League should study whether some method could be devised for organizing intellectual workers on the model of the Labor Organization. The resolution was adopted, though not without hilarity on the part of some practical statesmen.

Various plans that would not involve a large outlay of money were then worked out by the Secretariat, for any costly scheme was out of the question. At last a small body, eleven in number—men of scientific distinction—was considered, a group that could be asked to advise the League of Nations how to bring into closer touch the leaders of thought and educators throughout the world.

Though the League is primarily a political organization and must function as such, it can not be assured of its own security or continuance unless sustained by the enlightened opinion of the world. The flesh had been created and

it waited for the breath of life. Being something quite new in human history, it can not expect immediately to find universal support. The grown-ups are too skeptical : the old are cynical. The League must look to future generations. Hence, education must be—to continue a biblical allegory—the nostril into which the spirit is to be breathed. Monsieur Bourgeois, often called the Father of the League, was greatly in favor of arousing and training the international mind in schools, and the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation was conceived with this end in view. That explains why in the constitution of the Committee it is required that at least two women members be included in it. However, when the draft constitution was presented to the Assembly, some delegates who were afraid lest the educational systems of their countries might be interfered with by the League, crossed out the word "education" and made of the Committee a purely academic body devoted to the co-ordination of knowledge and the general encouragement of collaboration in the domain of science and art.

I must remark, however, that the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation (which for brevity is called I. C. I. C., International Committee for Intellectual Coöperation) utilizes every possible avenue of influence to impress upon the nations the need of spiritual disarmament and of fostering the international mind. For instance, without trespassing upon the legitimate claim of any country to mould its own educational policy according to its

ideals and actual needs, the I. C. I. C. is studying and watching within the small compass of authority allotted to it, how and how much effort each member of the League is making toward the cultivation of the international mind. There are some nations where nationalism is so stressed in the educational system as to encourage anti-foreign prejudices and hatred. The I. C. I. C. is authorized to give gentle warning to such countries, though I regret to say that very little is yet accomplished in correcting the abuses of xenophobic instruction.

What is the use of facilitating foreign trade, of improving foreign exchange, of uniting laborers of all nations, of bringing diplomats together into closer contact—if the future generation is going to hinder commerce by tariff discrimination or embargo, or if it is going to instruct the populace of one country to look upon that of another as a hypothetical enemy, or if it is going to regard the diplomat of one government as the spy of another? All the advantages of material progress made by globally working together are precious, and every means must be used to reap them. But unless the foundation is laid on a more secure rock, they who would build an international house are only building on sand. Our ideal of a world community must be higher than that of one state doing business with another state under conditions prescribed by treaties. That is not enough. Enemies can exchange goods for hostile purposes. Peace maintained by force is no real peace. It may be more immoral than war. Leibnitz

very rightly says that "absence of war is not peace." If we want international coöperation, we must not be content with its form and material only. It must be voluntary and sincere. It must be in spirit and in truth.

This certainly is a large order—and it is hard to conceive and realize by one who, like myself, was born under the shadow of a feudal castle or brought up in the air of the intense nationalism that characterized the nineteenth century. It is to the coming generations that we look for the truly international mind. I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. I am emphasizing on the *international mind*—and not on the cosmopolitan (or universal); for they are not the same thing. The latter term takes no cognizance of states or nations, but the former never loses sight of a fatherland or nationality. It is the *international* mind that we stand for, and we are thankful that Jeremy Bentham invented this ingenious word. We can be international only when we are national. Take away national from inter-national, and one has only an "inter," a "between" space, into which to fall! In these days when all countries are knit together by many ties, a patriot, if he is to be a genuine one and not a sordid professional, must needs be an internationalist; for by making his country a worthy member of the family of nations, he will serve the highest purpose of his race. Conversely, an internationalist, if he is to be a true one and not of a dreaming, heavenly sort, must have his feet planted firmly on the soil of his country and bring to it

treasures from every other land. Jesus Christ himself was not only the son of God, not merely a son of man and as such a cosmopolite, but a son of Judea and a patriot of the highest order. How he mourned and lamented over Jerusalem! . . .¹

x x x

As we grow in the knowledge of other peoples and of the law of universal progress, we shall realize more and more that all the higher interests of a nation are in harmony with the welfare of the whole human race, and that they are served best by coöperation among the nations of the earth. The world is one in spirit and in body. Neither the ghosts rising from the graves of feudalism nor the Chauvins shouting from the rostra of nationalism can tear it asunder. It is hence the part of wisdom to be forearmed for the day when coöperation will rule the conduct of races and nations.

¹ Here he referred to his theme of *Yukoku*, Matriotism instead of Patriotism. See above, pp. 309-11.

APPENDIX C

A JAPANESE TRIBUTE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN¹

No country can confine or retain to itself alone a great man. He oversteps its boundary lines and calmly walks over the barriers of languages, laws and customs. He belongs to the whole world and makes it his home. His achievement is local, because he treads the earth : but his personality covers the globe, because it is akin to the oversoul.

Every nation has given to the world at one time or another, great men to enrich the contents of its life or to arouse laggards to a sense of their higher destiny. There may come a period when the grandeur of a nation will be estimated in terms of personality instead of in those of wealth, of the army and navy, or of automobiles and games.

America is to be congratulated on having produced men of world dimensions—some who have embellished the halls of legislature or the White House or the courts of justice : some who have illuminated the laboratories of science with new rays of truth, some who have brought down philosophy from its dark abiding places, some who have transferred to canvas or to marble, to the harp or

¹ Address given at the Institute of International Relations, 1933, and published in the *World Affairs*, January, 1934.

lyre, beauties undreamed of by ordinary mortals.

But no one in the glorious galaxy of the distinguished sons of America has so endeared himself and so ennobled his land in the eyes of the rest of the world as has Abraham Lincoln. He is representative of true American manhood and is the embodiment of all that is great in this country. Gaunt in form and ungainly in habit, he is none the less the most picturesque figure carved out of God's own quarry, rough hewn sure enough, but chiseled by the master hand of nature herself. The imposing monument is not finished—much less has it been polished. If ever it be polished, it will be done not by a few artists but by millions of reverent hands and lips, which will add luster to it much as the statue of St. Peter in Rome has been polished.

The Japanese would be among the first to come from overseas and to lay for the martyred Captain, to borrow Walt Whitman's words, "bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths," for him "the shores a-crowding." There are many qualities in his soul that appeal with special fascination to our race. The wreath that we shall select will be woven of many flowers as becoming the man whose soul reflected the light of the sky. The wreath we shall prepare will be a strange medley of colors. How can it be otherwise, when the man for whose sacred memory it is offered, was so out of the ordinary? But the eyes of my countrymen will be alternately gladdened and dimmed by such flowers as the following:—

(1) A twig of cedar for his rugged strength, and tied to it a bunch of honesty and black poplar, because his strength is born of integrity and courage. His stature was in itself an emblem of the tower. People could feel safe under its shadow. Only it threw more light than shadows—the inner light undimmed by sophistry and undaunted by hostility. During the war, when his crew nearly mutinied against him, how often he stood alone at the helm! We, the Japanese, would call him the most loyal of men—and loyalty to one's own conviction is what you call honesty, a characteristic that won for the rail-splitter of the Illinois back-woods the sobriquet of "Honest Abe."

It is a usual weakness of a strong man to lay undue stress on strength. The fault of an honest man is to expect every man to be equally honest. A man of strong conviction is therefore apt to be intolerant of others' frailties, to judge sharply and to lack the milk of human-kindness. Honesty divorced from prudence and courage bereft of justice often leads one to the same mire where falsehood and cowardice usually beguile him. There are present in every heart gentler virtues that offset the harshness which accompanies the self-righteousness of honesty and the consciousness of strength. Lincoln had these virtues to a marked degree. The most prominent of these is compassion.

(2) The second choice for our bouquet will be a tropical flower, the allspice, (or shall we take the more fami-

liar white blossoms of the elder), symbolic of compassion; and bound with it a marsh rosemary, emblem of sympathy and a shoot of Japanese pine that bespeaks his depth of pity. Compassion, sympathy, pity, are psychologically allied so closely as to make distinction useless except for etymologists. Only a man who can see the other side of a situation can feel for others. His policies were dictated by compassion. The emancipation of colored slaves was no mere political move. The commander-in-chief of an army has power to demand military service of every citizen, but it takes his unstrained quality of sympathy to write such a letter as did Lincoln to Mrs. Bixby, the mother bereaved of five sons who died on the field of battle, or to deliver such an address as he did in Gettysburg. The sufferings and sorrows of the war were often too severe a strain on this tender spirit. We have been told of a White House guard, going his rounds in the small hours of the night, hearing the groans of agony with which the President unburdened his pent-up soul to the Source of All Comfort. There is nothing that touches us more than compassionate dealing with the weak by the strong. With us no warrior becomes a popular hero unless he has shown generous treatment to a fallen foe. Bushido, the Code of Knightly Honor, inculcates this teaching. But it is not this or that act of mercy or compassion that is of moment. It is rather the fundamental attitude of a man to life in general that excites our admiration. Lincoln's magnanimity for others

was grounded in his general mental make-up, and his basic view of life—and it is for this emotional attribute we love him. This takes me to the third point of my theme, namely—

(3) His melancholy, as a symbol of which we shall entwine a dark geranium with white roses indicative of his sorrowful mood. It is enough to look at his brow, his eyes and lips, to know the deep melancholy which was wrapped about the soul of this Man of Sorrows. We have in our language two words which express Lincoln's normal state of mind. These words—*awaré* and *nasaké*—are not easy to translate. The nearest English rendering will perhaps be respectively sadness and the feeling of something a-missing. We are a smiling, merry-making folk, but beneath the smile and the mirth, there is an undercurrent of sadness. We are ever conscious of the vanity of life and its pangs. Through all our literature runs an undertone of *awaré* and *nasaké* and I venture the remark that for this reason we can understand, perhaps better than some other peoples, the melancholy side of Lincoln's mental constitution.

There is consolation however in the thought that a great nature is never so steeped in melancholy that it makes its surroundings dark. It possesses a buoyancy, an elasticity, that enables it to see the lighter and brighter side of life. In the blackest clouds it perceives a silver lining, and a sound judgement never stays long out of balance. When trials tip the scale, humor comes to

regain equipoise.

(4) We shall now variegate the color scheme of the wreath by adding an ample handful of the gay saffron crocus. It is Lincoln's sense of humor that makes him one of us. It is this gift that stood him in good service in his personal and national tribulations. An intimate friend of his, once hearing Lincoln's loud laugh coming from a room in the White House, remarked to his companions that that was the President's "life preserver." Life is a comedy to him who looks at it with an eye of intellectual indifference. It is a tragedy to him who feels the life of his fellows. To a scientist it is idiocy, as a French savant called man the idiot. To a poet it is a beautiful vale of tears. To a philosopher it is both tragedy and comedy—a kaleidoscope whose colors are ever changing, or an opal showing a new color each time it is turned. In the vicissitudes of life a seeing eye detects constant incongruities and inconsistencies and these are the hobgoblins, as Emerson says, of fools and little minds, but to the great they afford fit subjects for humor. We have all heard how in cabinet meetings, when grave problems were being met in those dark days of your history, Lincoln used to stretch his long legs on the edge of the table and tell those droll stories which have since become famous. We have in Japanese a word for such mental relief. We call it *yoyū*; to be translated, perhaps, *reserve*, meaning that whoever possesses it is not completely obsessed or oppressed by one thought. Within our consciousness is

ever working the law of compensation by which life makes amends for its gloom by brightening it with occasional sparks, even if these may hurt the sensibilities of straight laced bureaucrats or the scrupulosity of sticklers for social conventions. Without being irreverent, may we not say that humor functions like a religious faith when it relieves one of a heavy burden that often buries into a Slough of Despond so many pious and scrupulous souls? Frivolity is not an essence of humor.. Humor can be grave indeed, but always bright and cheerful. True humor never ignores right proportions. It is aware of qualitative greatness in quantitative smallness, and of essential trivialities in matters of formal importance.

To what a tiny scale all things dwindle in the eyes of those who survey them from an aeroplane ! To a soul dwelling among the stars, even the rise and fall of empires must be an amusing sight, if its possessor were devoid of tears. Lincoln, if he soared in his closet above human interests, was always called back to the sorry and sordid world. He was in his endowment a realist and as such was a good patriot and a statesman.

(5) Yes, realism is a trait of his character which commands our respect. What flower shall we put in appreciation of his practical common sense ? Shall it be a thyme for his activity or a white pink for his ingenuity, or a wisp of grass to hint at his utility ? Were it not for his realistic temperament, Lincoln might have ended his days either as a dismal prophet or as a ranting preacher. He was no

academician lecturing on the ideal rights of men or the theoretical sanctity of treaties. He was a man of action through and through. Every fiber of his being was framed for hard work in the field. Even his religion held no dogma, and that is why he is sometimes suspected of atheism. His God was too great for ordinary Christians to conceive. His conception of Divine laws were too real for them to grasp. His genius was of a solid mother-wit kind. His penetration of human character fitted him not for a psycho-analyst but for the leader of living men.

Do you remember the story of a man who, remarking about Lincoln's height, asked him—"How long do you think a man's legs should be?" His quick reply came—"Long enough to reach the ground." His feet never left the real world even when his head was lifted above the clouds. It is this feature of his mentality which made him a democrat in the noblest sense of that term.

(6) The Japanese are not as a whole great admirers of democracy as it is usually understood, or misunderstood, nowadays; but they do believe in that essence of democracy as embodied in the person of Lincoln—the worth and dignity of the common man, implying the equality and freedom for all men. They do not believe in that equality which fails to recognize the natural distinctions that exist among them. Equality should never mean the leveling down of all heights. If the word means that, it is not just, and equality must mean justice. The words of Aristotle uttered over 2,000 years ago still hold true. "It

is as unjust," he said, "to treat equals unequally as to treat unequals equally." We shall in all humility place among the bouquet a rudbeckia for justice and a graceful branch of water willow for freedom. The so-called failure of democracy, of which we hear so much at present is to be traced to the violation of the principle stated by the Stagirite.

Lincoln's idea of Democracy is, if I am not greatly mistaken, more than a form of political constitution. It is a moral and social order. It is a fraternity, a brotherhood. We should stick a spray of woodbine in the chaplet symbolic of fraternal love. It means equal opportunity for all men, irrespective of race or nationality. I am not in a position to remark how much his innate sense of justice and human equality was adequately shared and practiced by his countrymen—if, therefore, democracy has been a failure in this country, Lincoln was not to blame. If any criticism were to be made, it is that the ideal set by him, an ideal which he alone of all the rulers of this land, could have brought to fruition—was too high and comprehensive for his successors. For, with all his realistic bent of mind, he was, in his heart of heart, an idealist. Allow me to dwell on this aspect of his character,—the last point I wish to make today.

(7) The vast range of his spiritual capacity was enlightened and deepened by cosmic consciousness. His actions were patriotic, but his motive was humanitarian. He labored for his country, but he never lost sight of

mankind. Indeed, his big heart embraced all living creatures. Numberless stories are told of his kindness to dumb creatures. When he told his countrymen to work "with malice toward none, with charity for all," he opened for them the portals of his inner temple. When he called the South,—"our friends, the enemy," he reached a plane above the battle. His magnanimity of which we have spoken was only a small stream that flowed from the supernal magnitude of his soul. We have in our recent history a man named Saigo, who often reminds me of Lincoln. He was a man of affairs, as well as of profound wisdom. In his heart he never harbored ill-will toward any,—not even to his opponents. He lived up to his maxim—"Revere God; love man." Melancholy when alone but always cheerful in the presence of others, his memory is most highly honored among us.

The people who look upon him as their hero cannot refrain from loving the American prototype. But Saigo is not the only Japanese hero who reminds us of Lincoln. We cannot help noticing a kinship of a spirit between this representative of "the government of the people, by the people and for the people" and a modern oriental monarch, the Emperor Meiji, who, in a poem of thirty-one syllables, thus expressed his cosmic sentiment—a sentiment, I dare say, equally innate in Lincoln.

"The morning sky in azure dyed,
With not a speck or scar to hide,
Stretching endlessly far and wide—

"Would that my soul were as broad and pure."

The Emperor Meiji was as wise a moral teacher as he was a great ruler. When General Grant made a visit to Japan in 1881, the two men were repeatedly closeted together with only an interpreter present, and used to hold long conversations. What a congenial friend and kindred spirit would our Sovereign have found in the man with whom General Grant had been so intimately associated! And how gladly would he have added with his own hands to the rather sombre hues of the wreath, the purple of the pawlonia (his family flower) and the gold of the imperial chrysanthemum!

We, the faithful sons of Japan, shall do what he would feign have done. We shall cherish the memory of the great, who attained the world embracing greatness. The world misses them deeply.

It is said that this globe, thanks to better means of communication, is daily shrinking. Is man, too, becoming smaller? Is the age of giants and heroes past and gone to make place for dwarfs, alarmists and terrorists? Games and sports are adding cubits to man's stature, but what about his soul? Science certainly is making phenomenal progress; but in statesmanship, the age looks poverty-stricken, as though it were going backward. Social, legal and political institutions are trembling and tottering for want of leadership. In times of illness we long for a healer; in a period of distress, we seek for a comforter; in darkness we strain our sight

APPENDIX C

for light—today the whole world, east and west, is holding forth a palm-leaf tied with immortal amaranth for one who will lead us to victory as did three score years ago your great and beloved President—Abraham Lincoln.

Pasadena, February 12, 1933.

APPENDIX D
A JAPANESE VIEW OF QUAKERISM¹

I

My subject is "What is Quakerism?" To begin with the definition of my subject, "Quakerism" is a term embodying those religious beliefs, moral precepts, social practices, which are either peculiar to, or particularly inculcated by, the community of Christians who came into existence in England in the middle of the 17th century under the name of the Society of Friends, and who were mockingly called Quakers, *i.e.*, people who quake and tremble.

II

Quakerism is so peculiarly English, at least in its beginning, that I cannot conceive of it being started elsewhere. It is true that similar religious bodies were formed in other countries such as the Mennonites in Friesland, and later on the Doukhobors in Russia. None the less it may be said that Quakerism was a product of the religious turmoil of the 17th century England seeking for personal conviction in matters of religion and politics, and that its vitality is also due to the individual-

¹ Address given at the University of Geneva on December 14th, 1926, prior to his departure from Geneva.

istic frame of the English mind. Its founder, George Fox, did not think of founding a new sect ; but when as a young man he came to realize the power of the Spirit, as he called it, within himself, he shared it with those who were in search of a religious conviction, who were not at all satisfied with the formalistic teaching of the priesthood. I am inclined to think that it was partly the English character of Quakerism that made it non-proselytizing and circumscribed its activities within the British Islands and within the Anglo-Saxon stock in America and Australia. It is also the practical genius of the English race that kept up the vitality of Quakerism despite many obstacles and impediments, for other mystic bodies have either been suppressed by authorities or have gradually dispersed ; and what remains is but a faint image of what they once were. Quakerism, too, has been losing its ground more or less, its followers diminishing in number ; but the remnant came to the fore during the Great War on account of their objection to war and of their activities in relief work. At present they number about 20,000 in Great Britain, 100,000 in America, about 300 in Japan and perhaps 150 in Germany where they were quite a large body once, but where they were suppressed entirely under the power of militarism. As to France, until about 30 years ago there was a small community near Nîmes, but at present I do not think there are many left.

III

When Quakerism is such an English institution why should a foreigner, so foreign as a Japanese, take upon himself to explain "What is Quakerism" to a Swiss audience, especially to the spiritual descendants of Calvin, and under the presidency of a professor of theology of the University of Geneva ! As, however, the Chairman has himself explained, Geneva is an international city and is becoming more and more so, and its citizens will surely take interest in hearing something of Quakerism, which has always stood for international good-will and co-operation. As to myself, an Asiatic and Japanese, I have found many points in common between Quakerism and teachings long current in the Far East. I shall explain, and you will understand, I hope, even without my going into detail, why Quakerism is so attractive to Eastern minds. When I speak of the East, I have naturally the Far East in my mind ; but even in the so-called Levant, we meet with religious bodies —Sufism, Bahaism, etc.—which entertain principles very analogous to Quakerism.

IV

The starting point of Quaker teaching is the belief in the existence of the Inner Light, the Light that lightens everyone coming into the world. It is given other names, such as the Seed, the Voice, the Christ, and so on. What-

ever the name, it means the presence of a Power not our own, the indwelling of a Personality other than human, in each one of us. Such a doctrine is not at all new. It is as old as the oldest form of mysticism. George Fox knew perfectly well that it was not his own discovery or invention. It is an idea that comes to every mystic soul in any clime. Perhaps it has developed more in the East. Socrates' *daemon* must have meant something very much like it. Buddhism is full of references to it. The famous word "Nirvana" which is so often translated "Annihilation" is but a negative way of naming it. Taoism starts and ends with it. The Zen sect of Buddhism makes it its aim to comprehend it. Wang Yang Ming, a comparatively new Chinese philosopher of the 15th Century, has made it the basis of his moral philosophy.

Now you see the reason why I was particularly drawn to Quakerism. When I began in my boyhood to hear Christian sermons and read Christian books, including the Bible, I confess that they were not at all convincing to me. Only in Quakerism could I reconcile Christianity with Oriental thought.

V

Let it be far from me to turn Quakerism into Oriental mysticism. Quakerism stays within the family of Christianity. It professes to rest its structure on the person of Jesus Christ, whom it identifies with the Inner

Light. It does not deny his incarnation and historicity, but it accepts his continued work of grace in each succeeding generation. Not only that, it believes his grace was retroactive, so that it was he who enlightened all the seers of old. He still dwells within us—in the least as well as in the greatest, even in the savage and the unlettered. Unlike Orientals, George Fox, a genuine Englishman, and his followers, conceived of a personal Christ as the Light, or of Light as a person ; but, by making this person eternal and existent before the world was, Quakerism came to much the same conclusion as the old mystics. Laotze, 600 years before Christ, spoke of the same theme, but in a reverse manner, namely, of a person in an impersonal way. Allow me to quote that famous 14th chapter of *Tao Tei King*. He writes : " You look at it and do not see, and you call it colorless. You listen to it and cannot hear it and you call it soundless. You stretch your hand and you cannot grasp it and you call it bodyless. These three surpass your power of definition and must be all put together as one." Now the words he used—" colorless," " soundless," and " bodyless," are in the original Chinese pronounced *ji-hi-wei*. Had Laotze ever heard of Jehovah, of Jehovah? Perhaps he had. It is not impossible. There was a communication between China and Judea in those olden times. If he had, may we not say that he identified Christ with the *Tao*, the Way, which is the subject of his whole philosophy—the Way, which the Christians call

their Master and God?

I shall not detain you longer on this particular theme. I have cited only one instance out of hundreds to show the affinities between the Western and the Eastern thought of centuries ago, and the idea developed by the untutored English cobbler of the 17th century.

VI

Were these mystics misguided, building their houses on the sands of fantasy and clothing themselves in garments woven of cobwebs out of their fevered brows?

There seems to be a regular order in mental evolution. An author with whom I am not always in sympathy has made the distinction clear between the different stages in the development of consciousness. Dr. Bucke, a Canadian alienist, in explaining the four gradations in the development of consciousness, says : "These four stages are, first, the *perceptual* mind—the mind made up of percepts or sense impressions ; second, the mind made up of these and receipts—the so-called *receptual* mind, or, in other words, the mind of simple consciousness ; third, we have the mind made up of percepts, receipts and concepts, called, sometimes, the *conceptual* mind or otherwise the *self-conscious* mind—the mind of self-consciousness ; and fourth, and last, we have the *intuitionial* mind—the mind whose highest element is not a receipt or a concept, but an intuition. This is the mind in which sensation, simple consciousness and self-consciousness are

supplemented and crowned with cosmic consciousness."

Modern psychologists do not seem to deny that there can be such a gradual development in consciousness. Monsieur Bergson's distinction between intelligence and intuition is well known. Dumb creatures, and perhaps plants also, possess a certain degree of consciousness, but man alone can detach himself from himself and reflect upon his own consciousness. This is a state of development not very difficult for us to attain, in fact every normal human being attains it. But is not there a stage still higher where we can merge ourselves in the great universe and feel the very pulses of the all-pervading life—a stage of consciousness where the microcosm becomes one with the macrocosmos, where we can feel at once that we are one with the great Spirit that lives and moves through the universe?

Eastern philosophy loves to contemplate on the identity of individual life with the life of the Whole. Known under different names—there is, for instance, "Liberation," "Brahminic Splendour," or "Nirvana"—this cosmic consciousness is the experience of many minds among all the races of the world. It is an experience whereby man is convinced beyond a shadow of doubt that he is a Spirit and that his Spirit is in close communion with the Spirit of the Universe. He finds himself at the center of the world; he shares all its joys and sorrows. He blows with every flower and weeps with every ephemeral insect. All mankind live in him and he in them.

He feels like a giant. Like a lover whom Emerson paints, he is twice the man and walks with arms akimbo. Like Dante, another lover, he talks to the Absolute Being in the language addressed to Beatrice. Curiously enough, the Cosmic sense, as described by those who attain it, is very much the same everywhere—whether it be by a Buddhist priest, a Shinto votary, a Mohammedan saint, a French mathematician, an American farmer, or a Jewish philosopher. Nothing confirms the identity of the human race better than this spiritual expansion. But I can speak only as a close observer of those who attain this high and lofty sense, and not as one who has himself attained it.

To make a little clearer what I mean by Cosmic Consciousness and how this is reached, let me cite the example of Blaise Pascal. Fortunately he left on record what we may call his religious conversion, and what we may call attainment of the Cosmic Sense. His biographer, no less a man than Condorcet, has made public the so-called *Mystic Amulet of Pascal*,¹ a parchment document which was found on his person at his death and in which he described an experience he had in the year 1654, when he was 31 years old.

"The year of grace 1654
Monday, 23 November, day of St. Clement,
Pope and Martyr,

¹ Pascal's *Mystic Amulet* (so-called by Condorcet), original parchment disappeared. Copy on paper in Pascal's own writing preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

From about half-past ten in the evening
until about half-past twelve, midnight,

FIRE

God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob,
not of the philosophers nor of the Wise.

Assurance, joy, assurance, feeling, joy, peace.

God of Jesus Christ,

My God and thy God.

Forgotten of the world and of all except God.

He is only found in the ways taught

in the Gospel. The sublimity of the human soul.

Just Father, the world has not known thee

but I have known thee.

Joy, joy, joy, tears of joy,

I do not separate myself from thee

They left me behind, me a fountain of living water.

My God, do not leave me.

Let me not be separated from thee eternally.

This is eternal life that they should know thee

the only true God and him whom thou has sent.

Jesus Christ

Jesus Christ

I have separated myself from him ;

I have fled, renounced, crucified him.

Let me not be forever separated from him.

One is saved only by the teaching of the Gospel.

Reconciliation total and sweet.

Total submission to Jesus Christ and to my Director.

Continual joy for the days of my life on earth.

I shall not forget what you have taught me, Amen."

It is strange to see with what suddenness and exuberance
these splendours come. Jacob Boehme, the Teutonic

theosopher, who died the year that Fox was born (1624) and who was also a shoemaker, had an illumination all of a sudden in his humble workshop when he was 24 years of age. It seems that the experience of what we have termed cosmic sense happens at an age very much later than the so-called Christian conversion, which William James and other psychologists find most common at the period of adolescence. Whether the spiritual illumination is accomplished through visible fire as in the case of Moses and Pascal, or through an audible voice as in the case of Socrates or Jeanne d'Arc, or as a bright light as in the case of St. Paul and Mahammed, the result seems to be very much the same. It means an immense increase of energy, bodily and spiritual, peace of mind, joy of heart, readiness to depart this life, and love for all mankind.

The central doctrine of Quakerism is the belief in this Cosmic sense which they call the Inner Light, and all the doctrines and precepts of Quakerism are only corollaries drawn from this premise. Allow me to call your attention, before I proceed further, to what I consider a very important point—namely, wherein Christianity differs from other faiths in respect to this power.

VII

Cosmic consciousness is the illumination of the mind ; it is the acquisition of a new mental power ; it is the purification of the heart, the elevation of the earthly man to

the higher sphere of existence. It is the baptism of the Spirit. The power to effect these changes has been predicated of Christ. If, however, among Christians there be such as would refuse to be classed with the "heathen" who have caught this power—or if among the non-Christians there be such as would not gladly acknowledge as friends the Christians who have this vision—it only shows that neither of them has yet attained to the truth; for whosoever gets it harbors no pride in his heart and entertains no enmity with other children of the light.

I ask again : Is there, then, no superiority whatever in the so-called revealed religion, by which is meant, I presume, the revelation of Godhead in the person and life of Jesus Christ? I believe Christianity has this advantage—not to call it a point of superiority—that it provides weak, ordinary human mortals with a definite and concrete object upon which to focus their mind, thus facilitating their discovery of the Perfect Man. Acquaintance with Him makes us one with Him—at-one-ment. To follow Him is to be redeemed from a lower plane of life. To contemplate Him is to see God Himself and be saved.

We read Laotze ; we read Buddhist saints ; we study Oriental mystics—we are brought very near to the idea of redemption, atonement, salvation. We shall perhaps feel the same assurance and bliss, the same power and the same love for our fellow men ; but we feel that we have not reached our finality. Like Goethe, we still yearn for

and profit by it, spiritual enlightenment must precede its perusal. It may be remembered that the Bible had been translated into English only eleven years before George Fox was born, and in his days it was evidently very much studied and almost superstitious virtues were ascribed to it. No wonder, therefore, that the Quakers, if for no other reason, should have been thought heretics and unbelievers.

Another consequence follows from the Quaker estimate of the Bible. They say that the knowledge of this book does not by itself qualify a man to preach the truth, for the truth comes direct from the Spirit. Theological study is not, therefore, valued by them as much as in other churches.

From this fact follows another, namely the usage among them of not having regularly educated clergy. If anybody distinguishes himself, be he educated or not, by preaching in a manner which appeals as sound and helpful, he is recognized as acceptable to the meeting, and inasmuch as his gift of preaching is free, he must not receive any material compensation.

X

The Inner Light being conceived as universal, it is given to all men irrespective of sex, race, or education. This being so, there should be no discrimination against women in any way. Hence among Quakers women have always been treated as equals of men. There are women

preachers and women officials among them. In the meeting women have always exercised equal rights with men in every way. As to the equality of races, the Friends put their doctrine in practice in dealing with American Indians and negroes. When in the colonial days of America, Europeans vied with each other in hunting down the poor natives and taking their land, William Penn, an Englishman, surprised the natives by dealing fairly and squarely with them, signing a treaty with them as equal brethren and paying an adequate price for their lands. You remember Voltaire's remark that this was the only treaty in history which was concluded without an oath and which was never broken.

The Quaker attitude to the negroes in America is too well-known to be recited. So pronounced were the Quakers in their denunciation of slavery that they were often placed in very dangerous positions during and before the American civil war. Their protest finds a clarion voice in the lines of Whittier and their actual participation in the work of emancipation is immortalized by the pen of Mrs. Stowe in the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Thus were put into practice the doctrine of Equality and of Brotherhood long before these were adopted as political maxims. What about Liberty? Mr. Gooch, one of the most prominent living publicists of England, devotes several pages of his book on the *Political Thought in England* to the influence of Quakerism on the development of civil liberty. It is evident that coercion of any

“ more light.” Yes, we see light, but not the one thing essential—namely, a perfect living Personality. It is not impossible that many an Oriental has caught a more abundant quantity of light than many a Christian saint, but in that light by which they saw a thousand and one objects, they could perceive only something brilliant, but amorphous, which they did not identify as the King of Kings. They could see rocks and pebbles of all sizes and shapes ; but they knew not the Cornerstone. They saw herbs of varied hues and qualities, but the Vine escaped their scrutiny.

VIII

The immediate consequence of the doctrine of the Inner Light is the peculiar form of worship in vogue among the Quakers—namely, the silent waiting for inspiration. Believing that God is immanent in all, they come together and prepare a milieu for His manifestation. When anybody—it does not matter who, maybe a man, woman or child—feels stirred in his heart he or she gives testimony in a sermon, song or prayer. An English writer, Mr. Waley, in a little book in which he compared the Quakers with the Zen Sect of Japan has said that the “ Quakers seek communion with the Divine Spark in corporate meditation and deliberately exploit the mysterious potencies of crowd-psychology.” This is in a way misleading, since it is not only in meetings, silent or otherwise, that Quakers stress the doctrine of Immanence.

Even their business meetings are conducted in an atmosphere of tranquillity. Should discussion become heated it is customary for some member to propose waiting upon the Lord for a few minutes, and when the excitement subsides they take up the business of the day again. I must add here that in the meetings decision is taken not by simple vote, *i.e.*, by merely counting heads or hands, but it is taken by the weight of opinion. This means that the utterance of one man of high character and good judgment counts more than the opinions of ten men of lighter weight. Such a device may look very much like "respect of persons" and undemocratic and altogether against the fundamental principle of Equality espoused by Friends, but whoever knows that a mere majority is a mechanical contrivance, will admit that decision by weight is the more judicious procedure.

IX

Another prominent feature in the religious profession of Friends is their disuse of the sacraments generally observed in the Christian Church. Holding divine worship to consist in spiritual communion, and in nothing else, they deny the necessity of Water Baptism and of the Lord's Supper. They maintain that true baptism must be of the Spirit and not in water. They even go further. They accept the Bible as God-inspired, but will not credit it as the sole revelation of divine will. They say that it is not *the* Word of God, and in order to understand

kind is incompatible with the belief in the Inner Light.

XI

The doctrine of equality, when applied in the daily conduct of life, has had some curious effects. At the time when social usage demanded different forms of expression in addressing different classes in society, such discrimination weighed heavily on the conscience of the Quaker and as a protest he called everybody "thou" and "thee." When the custom has changed and "you" is employed for all classes alike, of course the protest has lost its ground.

Similarly the custom known as hat-honor was introduced to England when Charles II returned from the continent. He brought the polished manners of the French Court and that involved punctilious formalities about uncovering one's head in the presence of the great. The Quakers insisted that all men are equal and they would not bare their heads before one class in preference to another. It looked as if they had insisted upon being rude to everybody! We read of George Fox being summoned to the presence of the Lord Protector Cromwell and there he kept his hat on while talking with Cromwell for a long time. I was told also that when John Bright was a member of Gladstone's government, he had often to appear before Queen Victoria : but he always kept on his hat. But as he did not resist the exercise of *force majeure*, a court official was placed near the door to

take off his hat as he entered the presence of Her Majesty, in that way sparing his conscience and preserving the etiquette of the Court.

The use of the plain language and the scruple about hat-honor are not strictly religious tenets, and the Quakers call them testimonies, *i.e.*, usages which the members of the Society should observe as practical demonstrations of their religious profession. Of these testimonies there are some more, such as the objection to take oaths, to swear, under any circumstances (not even in the Court of Justice), and the avoidance of personal ornaments in clothing. Their refusal to swear is founded on the Biblical teaching. Their plain clothing was a testimony against wearing the garish luxurious dress introduced from France at the time of the Restoration. George Fox had to travel extensively on religious missions. Being a shoemaker he had sewn for himself a pair of leather breeches and also a leather coat, anticipating no doubt the latest fashion of automobile drivers ! There are still many conscientious Friends who will not carry a gold watch or a diamond ring. Formerly this sartorial scruple went so far as to regard all bright colors with suspicion, if not with abomination. It is said of an old Quakeress that when the wind blew a red maple leaf into her presence, she carefully turned it upside down. When the social custom has so changed that the man's broad-brimmed hat or the woman's bonnet has become rare and unobtainable without paying a high price, they in turn become

articles of luxury ; and hence they have practically gone out of use among Friends.

It is due to their idea of the equality and brotherhood of man that the Quakers devoted their attention to the spread of general education, especially among those who were denied educational facilities. That is the reason why in the history of Poor Schools and of Adult education there are so many Friendly names, as no doubt Professor Bovet here will testify.

XII

The same principle that encouraged education, when applied in dealing with the unfortunate, namely those less gifted mentally, morally or economically, has given rise to new methods in the treatment of the insane, that is to say, the mentally deficient, the criminal—the morally deficient, and the indigent—the economically weak. It is a well-known chapter in the history of alienism that the Friends first started the system of handling the insane with kindness and as human beings. With regard to the attitude towards criminals, the work of Elizabeth Fry, at least in England, broke the record in prison administration. Lastly, about the poor ; as it is often said that there are no poor among Quakers I must explain how far the statement is justified.

The apparent absence of poverty among the Quakers is due, I think, to three causes :—(i) Owing to the necessity felt during the period of persecution, there is a strong

esprit de corps in the Society of Friends, with the result that there has developed a good system of mutual assistance. The Society has a special Committee charged with the duty of looking into the condition of its suffering members, and when the suffering is due to poverty, relief is provided without any intimation as to the giver or the recipient ; so to all appearances, therefore, there is no suffering from poverty.

Secondly, as a rule, the members of the Society are constantly urged to fairness in all dealings with their fellow-men. In trade, honesty has proved to be the best policy. Mr. Bertrand Russell, the well-known writer and philosopher, in his little book, *Icarus*, speaks of the adoption of the one-price principle by the early Quakers. He says "They adopted this practice because they held it to be a lie to ask more than they would take. But the convenience to customers was so great that everybody came to their shops, and they grew rich." Mr. Russell adds :—"The same policy might have been adopted from shrewdness, but in fact no one was sufficiently shrewd."

Perhaps the third reason is the most important, but it is the least thought of. As has been said before, the Society requires of its members the utmost frugality in the manner of living. The typical house of a Quaker is comparatively bare—comfortably and simply furnished, not cumbered with ornaments or loaded with decorations. Luxury is held in horror in any form. Vanity costs more than hunger or cold, as a wise man has said. When we

think that the most expensive items in living are the unnecessary things, we can see at once that whosoever has sufficient strength of mind to defy the demands of a showy life can keep poverty at a distance.

Being thus economically competent, the Friends have perhaps been more generous with their means and have thereby given an impression of being a philanthropic body ; but charity is not the object of their organization. Money must be viewed as a by-product.

Though the care of the poor is but a practical consequence of the fundamental conception of man's relation to God, it certainly forms a vital problem in social life, so much so that an apostle defined religion as visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction and keeping oneself unspotted from the world. That Friends have not forgotten the traditions of their forbears, is amply shown during the war, as our Chairman¹ has made allusion.

XIII

I have one more subject to present before you and I shall be done. I refer to the all-important and all-embracing question of World Peace, which it has been the task of the Society of Friends from its very beginning to advocate and strive after. They have fought for it as few others have fought, they suffered for their conscience. Many have sacrificed their bravest sons and daughters,

¹ Prof. Eugène Choisy, Doyen of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Geneva.

not to count their worldly possessions, at the altar of peace. In England and America, many young Quakers were imprisoned as conscientious objectors and more of them risked their lives in bringing succor to friends and foes, while the fighting was going on. A recent book by A. Ruth Fry, *A Quaker Adventure*, modestly and graphically written, shows what Peace can do in the midst of war. While the heat of nationalism was high, under the régime of War psychology, they were subjected to abuse and scorn, but history, I hope, will one day do more justice to their achievements.

When the captains depart and the turmoil is over the pacific mission of Friends will assume a new form. If in war they risked their all, should they do less in peace? Spinoza very wisely remarked that the absence of war does not necessarily spell peace.

XIV

Friends as a body have had the immense satisfaction of seeing generally accepted some of the ideas which they were the first to propose and promulgate. The equality of woman, the abolition of slavery, the human treatment of the insane and the criminal, freedom of speech, liberty of conscience, the general spread of education among the poor, the spiritual interpretation of the Bible—all these are assets to their credit. But what are these achievements compared with what still remains to be done—a handful of sand on the vast shore of human sorrow and suffering.

I have thus far dwelt upon some of the peculiarities of the Quakers, and tried to explain the ground for them. I hope I have not overdrawn their virtues. In speaking of the religious body with which I have identified myself for the last forty years, I have been constantly reminded of a story of an Arabian saint, who, when a lad, was ordered one evening by his father to study the Koran with his brother. Seeing the brother fallen asleep the little boy said : "Father, look at him sleeping while I have my eyes fixed on the Holy Scripture." Upon hearing this the good father admonished him gently, saying, " My boy, I wish you were asleep too rather than that you should indulge in spiritual pride."

APPENDIX E

OPENING ADDRESS AT THE KYOTO CONFERENCE OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS¹

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

In opening the present conference it is my first and most agreeable duty to express in the name of the Japanese Council the heartiest welcome to all the honored guests representing the countries whose gates open on the Pacific Ocean.

The thalassic civilization which blossomed on the borders of the Mediterranean, long ago gave place to the oceanic civilization of the Atlantic coasts. Now the Pacific lands are to be the stage where shall meet all the races and cultures of the world. We are highly resolved that they shall meet in unison and harmony.

Occidental civilization, beginning with the Hellenic, took a westward course, while Oriental culture, starting somewhere in Akkadia or Sumeria, advanced eastward, and reaching our shores, has waited for this day to meet the West and make complete the circuit of human progress. Carl Richter, if he were alive, would not have stopped his classification of civilizations with the Oceanic. He would have lifted up the present generation into the stage of the aerial in which land becomes a more promi-

¹ Given on October 28, 1929.

nent factor than water. None the less the rôle that the Pacific will play in human communication and culture will not diminish in importance ; for there are features in marine navigation that cannot be displaced by aviation.

Thus the East and the West are coming together after a long separation. It is an opportune meeting, this ; for it seems that the fulness of time has arrived for us whose task is to find a common ground for the old and the new races to join hands.

We can meet, as we do now, for inquiry and study, for the enlargement of our vision, for the elevation of our spirit—for a feast of souls, the fellowship of kindred minds. We meet here not in the spirit of conflict, nor of competition, but with a will to understanding and peace. The old notion of nations as fighting units or commercial rivals, is being discarded. There can be emulation without fighting, commerce without competition, patriotism without jingoism. We can love our fatherland without hating that of others ; we can trade with foreigners without ruining their profit. We can run in the same race without undermining their strength.

Mankind is one in its ultimate end and aim. And our effort should be exerted toward the unity without which we shall never be able to enjoy perpetual peace, happiness or prosperity. If we are still far from this desirable goal, the signs of the age point out that we are not mistaken in our ideal.

The nations of the earth are looking to the realization

of a corporate body in one form or other—not, perhaps, one unified state, but a loose union, a sort of federation of the world with a parliament of man; it is not only Monsieur Briand, but a host of other thinkers, who are planning a Zollverein of all Europe. There are still other dreamers who see visions of larger unions, a little smaller than Auguste Comte's biocratic league. An Italian priest, Don Sturzo, has recently eloquently described such an ideal organization provided with all the associative qualities and forces of an effective International Community.

It has been my privilege to spend seven years in that world capital, the Mecca of international peace and co-operation, Geneva,—the seat of the League of Nations. For the last decade there have been gathering there, year by year, some fifty-four nations, to discuss questions not only of universal magnitude but of divergent national interest. Poland and Lithuania, Chile and Peru, China and Japan, Germany and France, Bulgaria and Greece, Finland and Sweden, Hungary and Rumania have been regular attendants.

These nations have had at times serious grievances, each against her neighbor—but, as to the Island of Delos the contending states of Greece resorted disarmed, so have the nations—I regret not to be able to say all the nations—of the world come to Geneva to present their causes and to listen to their opponents. I can bear witness to the wonderful fact, indeed a marvellous discovery,

that a state has a conscience. How few of the philosophers who elaborated on the organic nature of the state—Spencer, Schaffle and their followers—have gone so far as to see in it a moral being with pricks of conscience?

Thomas Hill Green says—"No individual can make a conscience for himself. He always needs a society to make it for him". If this be true, as I believe it is, may we not say that the reason why the state has been so long unmoral is because it was so obsessed with exaggerated notions of absolute independence and sovereignty that it refused to acknowledge the possibility of an association of states? It is this phase of world integration—the emergence and cultivation of a common and universal sense of justice and right—that makes the League of Nations, at least to my mind, so indispensable for the future of our species. Even the worst antagonists of the League as a political organization, will be pleased to know that this moral institution is gaining in power. Only ten years ago it was but a feeble sapling sprouting from the blood-drenched soil of human history, and now it has attained a respectable size. If, as yet, the birds of the air cannot all find shelter in its branches, it has not denied refuge to some wounded fledgelings.

I must apologize for trespassing upon your patience by referring to Geneva. But my thoughts have been freshly drawn to that center of World Conferences for three reasons. First, the League has shown its interest in all international coöperation, and has at this time, as

upon previous occasions, manifested this interest in the Institute of Pacific Relations, by sending observers to our Conference. In the name of the Pacific Council, I wish to extend our thanks to the International Secretariat for its courtesy. I am sure that the presence in our midst, of members not officially identified with any national group, and who are, moreover, experienced in the conduct of international meetings will be of great assistance.

My second reason for mentioning the League has reference to the extrinsic valuation of our own Institute. As the League grows in membership and geographical dimensions, it will presumably be compelled to conduct some of its business in regional congresses. For, though theoretically and ideologically the concern of one nation is the concern of the whole world, there are, in practice, international questions that affect only restricted areas. Questions of this character can be best discussed by the parties interested in a regional gathering, under the general direction or oversight of the central body.

Am I too sanguine to hope that a body like this may prove a model for, or a nucleus of, such a regional gathering? It is not my intention, I assure you, to rob our own Institute of its unique and intrinsic importance. On the contrary, I believe that its construction and functions are capable of exercising a wide influence upon countries that do not participate in its deliberations.

Yet another reason makes me think of the Geneva institution in comparison with ours. That is a govern-

mental body, this voluntary. That is political and jural ; this is scientific and enlightening. If that is an arena for the ventilation of state policies, this is a clearing house for educated ideas and considered opinions. If Geneva can boast of constellations of the political world in its assembly halls, we can, with better reason, be proud of having on the floor great leaders in science and business. If the League calls for action, the Institute appeals to reason.

The world needs gatherings of both kinds ; they should complement each other. But if any preference is to be made, the more basic institution—ours—should have priority. Why is a voluntary body more basic ? The history of international coöperation—or the narratives of many an international organization started and managed by unofficial bodies—show clearly that the initiative for public international unions has often come from private institutions. These are usually meetings of private individuals of different nationalities, interested in some common subject. They come together to exchange views and information. They have no authority except of knowledge. But, because they are well informed, their opinions and judgments are respected and even courted by governments. Thus they become an advisory body. If their advice proves wise, they are made into a deliberative council. So, step by step, what was but a company of specialists develops into a governmental organ for deciding the affairs of the state. The League of Nations was not made in a day. Groups of men bent on the abolition of

war had been working in America, England, France, Belgium and other countries, and had prepared the ground for the final adoption of the League Covenant.

When I conceive of the possible development of our still comparatively incipient organization, I am appalled at the vastness of the task before us. I feel, at the same time, the inadequacy of mere organization ; for organization oft kills organism.

It is trivial to remark that an international organization is as good as dead, unless the international spirit is breathed into its nostrils. There are in existence at present between three and four hundred international unions of all kinds. Many of these are as good as dead. They hold their formal meetings in ghostly fashion. They appear on the stage, pass a few enigmatic resolutions and vanish into thin air. Others are very live and alive and make their voice vibrate to all the corners of the globe.

Whether we make of an international gathering a Tower of Babel or a Pentecostal Day depends entirely on the mental attitude of the participants.

That mental attitude which is the *sine qua non* of success in all undertakings like ours, is the international mind, which, detached from national egotism, views all international questions fairly and impartially, objectively and scientifically. An international mind is not the antonym of a national mind. Nor is it a synonym for a cosmopolitan mind, which lacks a national basis. The international mind is the expansion of the national, just as philanthropy

or charity—if it is not to be the kind that increases directly with the square of the distance—should begin at home. A truly international mind should include patriotism and vice versa. The antithesis of the international mind is neither patriotism nor exophilism, but chauvinism and xenophobia. Samuel Johnson describes the international mind when he says :—" That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

We meet here under circumstances which I hope will not strain our patriotism or overtax our piety. Not for indictment of others, not for propaganda of our own faith, not for a passionate appeal for a national cause, not to settle a controversy,—but for the deliberate orientation of problems that may cast a shadow over the Pacific—have we come together. I am aware that there are grave questions still awaiting solution between several countries represented here. But this is no place to force settlement. Indeed it is exactly to avoid a forced solution of any political or economic issues that we are now meeting. Harangues, propaganda, boycott, are not the method of the Institute. These violent measures, when they are followed even outside the Institute, do more harm than good to the cause of international understanding. We have to adopt a more efficacious method of procedure. It was Confucius himself who taught men to fight like gentlemen (*Kimize*) if they must fight at all. We shall

exercise the international mind and take up the programs of the Conference fairly and objectively, with charity for all.

"Over a century ago, Wordsworth sang of the spirit of the mountains and of the sea as inspiring liberty and independence. Do we not find the spirit of the hills and the lakes as conducive to fellowship and interdependence? The Locarno spirit is such, and it is admitted that this was nurtured on the shores of Lake Leman, surrounded by its hills, the Jura and the Salève. Here we meet in this ancient city, called in olden times Hei-An, the City of Peace and Ease, at the foot of the Hi-ci range and with Lake Biwa close by. Thus does Japan provide the Conference with the geographical requisites for the peaceful discussion of international relations. May you make full and satisfying use of them.

"With these high hopes of your labors, I have the honor to declare the Third Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations now open.

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